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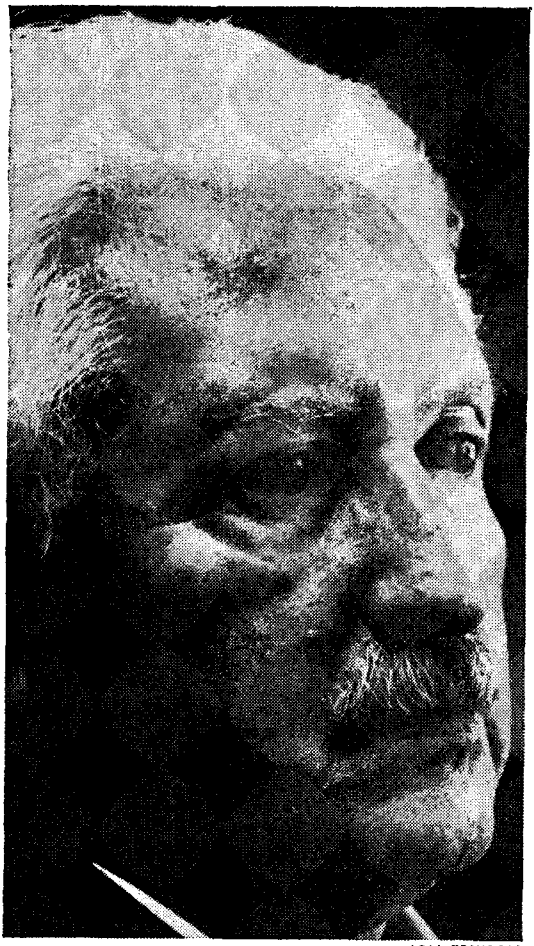

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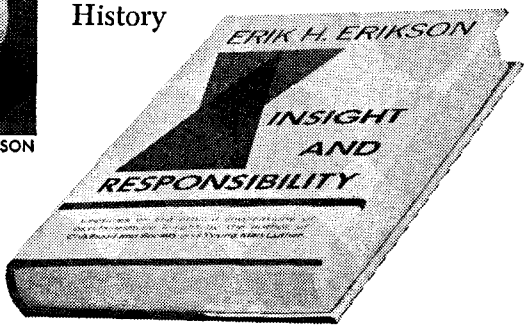

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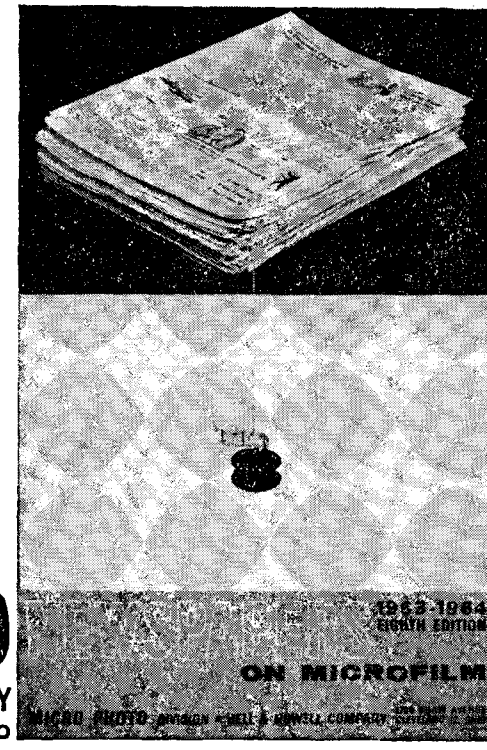

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If You Don't Mind My Saying So . . . . . .

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

I am, I believe, the first historian of culture ever to point out that the modern male lost interest in his own legs about the time that he developed an ardent concern with those of his female companions. A proper Victorian gentleman used his to walk with; and although he might so far forget himself as to make sly allusions to "a neat ankle," he was expected to assume that respectable ladies, like the Queen of Spain, had no legs. Then skirts went up, and until the most recent revolution in taste transferred his attentions to certain other conspicuous secondary sex characteristics, he was so absorbed in an aesthetic contemplation of the now obvious fact that ladies did have them that he naturally forgot even the practical uses he could make of his own. Now, after a generation or two, the novelty has worn off, and walking is coming back into fashion.

I am aware, of course, that there are rival theories to explain the decline of pedestrianism for pleasure or as a means of getting from one place to another. Some say that it was due merely to the fact that the invention of the automobile, plus our fanatical concern with gadgets, encouraged us to use this vehicle to the near exclusion of the devices supplied by nature. Those who follow the lead of that sour sociologist Thorstein Veblen have a different explanation. They attribute the phenomenon to the alleged fact that members of the leisure class refused to use their legs in order to demonstrate that they did not have to. In China, the deformed feet of female aristocrats were a status symbol proudly exhibited by those who wished to make it evident that if they wanted to go anywhere there would always be someone to carry them. In the West, high-heeled shoes served the same purpose, although the fact that they could be taken off indicated a less absolute confidence. Senior executives can't very well wear crippling shoes but many of them now play routine golf by riding from shot to shot in motorized carts just to avoid the exercise once supposed to be the excuse for the game.

The one moment that anyone who has ever seen Shaw's *Pygmalion* is sure to remember is that in which the newly made lady who has just been asked by an admirer if he can walk her home through the park demonstrates her sense of newly acquired status by exclaiming in words more appropriate to her former station in life: "Not bloody likely. I am going in a taxi." This is strong support for the Veblen theory; but I naturally still prefer my own that walking went out of fashion when female legs became erotic rather than utilitarian and came back when they had been exposed so long and so abundantly that the sight of them was no longer a treat. Now men can remember their own and the uses to which they may be put. This theory may be a bit farfetched but it is at least my very own.

In any case there is no doubt that the tide is turning. Any accurate observer stationed in the neighborhood of Madison and Park will notice a novel phenomenon. A group of young executives bound for two or three martinis and a bit of lunch somewhere in the East Fifties has spent ten minutes trying to get a taxi which would carry them at a snail's pace across town. One says to the other, "Let's save time by walking." And once the astonishment at the novel suggestion has worn off, there is a general agreement with this original idea. Our young executives are learning an important lesson. Laborsaving devices sometimes increase labor, and rapid transit is

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often the slowest way of getting somewhere.

This is only a minor example of a cultural revolution. We have a Secretary of the Interior who not only walks but climbs and a Justice of the Supreme Court who writes books shamelessly describing his pedestrian exploits. It may be that the other official who recently insisted that a fifty-mile walk would do us all good is going to extremes, but extravagant reactions are a usual phenomenon associated with social changes. It looks as though walking, not riding, is about to become a status symbol.

Notoriously, Americans tend to extremes. They have been more exuberantly committed than any other people to whatever is thought of as modern—whether it be gadgets, clothes or even social manners. And walking tended to be more completely outmoded here than anywhere else. As many a visitor to Los Angeles (where some aspects of the American way are carried to their ultimate extremes) has discovered, the police regard with suspicion any pedestrian on the sidewalk who does not appear to be waiting for a taxi. And even in New York most of the natives have forgotten how to *flâner* in the Parisian fashion. In England, on the other hand, country walking never went completely out of fashion, and the public right-of-way along traditional paths across private property is jealously protected to this day. The German student's *Wanderjahr* never completely ceased to be a respectable tradition, and within the last decade the youth hostels (not patronized by youths only) have become increasingly familiar all over Europe. More recently American college youths have discovered them, and the European tour conducted at least partly on foot has become, among the rich as well as the poor, increasingly a popular substitute for the old-fashioned grand tour. The significant fact is that such partly pedestrian tours are not merely *faute de mieux* for those who cannot afford anything else—their advantages as well as their economy have come to be what count. Even within this country nothing is more fashionable at the moment than "garden tours" or "visits to stately homes" which must necessarily be conducted on foot.

One reason for all this—and one that some may be inclined to take rather more seriously than my opening suggestions—is simply this. We have begun to recover just a bit from our obsession with the automobile and the airplane for their own sakes and to realize that the motorcar (and, of course, *a priori,* the airplane) are methods of locomotion rather than ends in themselves—that if you travel for the sake of seeing something rather than simply to get from one place to another, you might almost as well stay at home. From a jet flying at forty thousand feet you see so little that luxury consists in watching a movie while traversing India or Japan, and from an automobile you see little except superhighways and cloverleaves which are the same everywhere. Yet, as I have observed in my own exploration of our continent, many people value the national parks because they are somewhere to go in a car instead of valuing the car because it can take them there. In many an American family the weekend conference begins, not with the question, "What would we like to visit?" but with "Where can we go for a drive?"

For obvious reasons all producers of the gadgets encourage the idea that even acquiring the latest model dishwasher or deep freezer is less in order to enjoy its supposed usefulness than a way of being one up on your neighbors. And the manufacturers of automobiles outdo all others in reliance upon this not always subtly conveyed suggestion. For instance: one widely exhibited TV commercial shows the head of the house arriving in a brand new car midst gasps of admiration from wife and kiddies who immediately summon the neighbors to see what daddy has done to make the neighbors feel envious and inferior. But since nearly everybody has nowadays a new car, its value as a status symbol is declining, and gadgetry has reached an ultimate absurdity in battery-operated swizzle sticks. Why-not-dazzle-the-neighbors is a ploy already beginning to lose its effectiveness.

Meantime another recent phenomenon operates positively in the same direction. Americans have rediscovered nature. Books about animals, plants, mountains and

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oceans pour in an unprecedented stream from the presses because they are being bought in unprecedented numbers. No doubt this is partly because we can no longer take nature for granted; because a beautiful world is disappearing under the impact of an exploding population and the "progress" it makes necessary. Birdwatchers, once eccentric figures of fun, are now too numerous to be laughed at. The Audubon Society estimates that there are some ten million of them in the United States. The head of one of our largest corporations has published a splendid book about hummingbirds and it has even been suggested that on a fine weekend there are more people out with binoculars than in the football or baseball stadia.

But you can't observe nature from an automobile—especially if, like most automobilists, you confine yourself to superhighways because you are more concerned with your car than with yourself and don't much care where you are if only you get there quickly. You may ride out of the city but once you get into the country, there is no substitute for legs. And that is equally true whether your taste is for the ambitious hike or climb or merely for what I like to call window-shopping in nature, which means strolling about in no matter how leisurely a fashion but keeping your eyes open for the violet by the mossy stone or for one of the little creatures who share the earth with us. Thoreau is more widely read today than ever before and one of the things we are learning from him is that nature is as wonderful in the small and the near at home as in the grandiose and the remote. One evidence that we really are learning this is that the series of five walks inaugurated a few years ago by the Museum of the City of New York proved so popular that the walks are now scheduled for every other week except in winter.

Even those (and there are still many of them) who boast that nature puts them out and who are uncomfortable as soon as they leave what an ultra-urbanized acquaintance of mine used to call "God's concrete" will find that city walking also affords delight. You can't get the best of a city from a taxi or a bus (to say nothing of a subway) because much of it, like much of the best in the country, is made up of little things. Two hundred and fifty years ago the London poet John Gay wrote a descriptive poem subtitled "The Art of Walking the Streets of London," and he knew something that is equally true today—you learn a city only by walking it and you find the most rewarding areas those not too modernized, where what Miss Jacobs called in her recent book "the life of the streets" still flourishes.

Whether you walk in the city or the country the motion of the legs stimulates both the tongue and the brain. Precious little good talk is ever originated in any rapidly moving vehicle. The *New Yorker* magazine often reports absurd fragments overheard on a bus or in the subway, but it has never, as far as I can recall, recorded anything wise. Advertising slogans are thought up by men sitting at desks in offices they rode to, and the gobbledygook of sociologists and bureaucrats originates in the same way. But even Samuel Johnson, that hater of the country, said some of his best things while walking with Boswell in London or Scotland, and there are more impressive examples. Demosthenes composed his orations while walking the beach. Plato taught in a grove. Aristotle, who founded modern logic and modern science, was known to his contemporaries as the Peripatetic Philosopher.

"The road," said Cervantes, "is always better than the inn." That is profoundly true and implies the most fundamental of all reasons why it is better to walk than to ride. We walk in order to enjoy, literally or figuratively, what the road has to offer. We ride in order to get quickly to the inn. If walking were a recent technological marvel and legs a new invention, we would realize that they are more remarkable than the automobile or even the wheel. They can negotiate a wider variety of terrain than any vehicle. They can go places even a jeep can't. And they last much longer. Hurrah for what our fathers used to call shank's mare! If wishes were automobiles beggars would ride. But nowadays "the man who has everything" is using his legs.

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the scholar cornered

The Dilemma of National Greatness

WILLIAM C. DEVANE

As the dust settles, the most significant fact about Sir Charles Snow's lectures on "The Two Cultures" is the passionate interest that they aroused both in England and America. It is less astonishing that in reaction there rose a kind of conspiracy to deny that a rift in our culture exists at all. This means, I think, that Sir Charles said something perhaps not altogether satisfactorily but something nevertheless very near the surface of consciousness of the two societies. This was especially true of England, for the intellectual British have been searching since the First World War, and more intensively since the Second, for the underlying causes for their disastrously inadequate performance in both those wars, and the disintegration of their sunlit empire. To England her loss of greatness and power was a grim reality; to America it was a lesson to be drawn from the unfortunate history of a kinsman and friend.

The idea that there are two competing aspects of our culture is not a new one. It is at least as old as Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis,* when the older literary culture, derived from Greece and Italy, was challenged by the new science. The literary humanistic aspect of the culture of the West, however, had entrenched itself in academies, schools and universities, the Typhoid Marys of culture, and these until the nineteenth century allowed little room in their curricula for science. Scientific achievement was an individual matter, and often a lonely effort. But the march of the scientific mind was the greatest achievement of the nineteenth century, and from time to time the dominant humanistic aspect of the culture was severely challenged. More than any other, Darwin's great work, *The Origin of Species,* shook traditional thinking, and provided the immediate base for a new challenge—a conflict in which both sides behaved in a manner that has become characteristic. The champion of Darwinism, Thomas Henry Huxley, belligerently announced that science was by far the most important part of our culture, and demanded an almost exclusive priority for it in the educational process. He denied the usefulness of literature, history and philosophy. An even less temperate scientist than Huxley, John Tyndall, in his famous "Belfast Address" in 1874 pushed the attack into the sacred area of theology. "By an intellectual necessity," he said, "I cross the boundary of the experimental evidence, and discern in that matter which we, in our ignorance of its latent powers, and notwithstanding our professed reverence for its Creator, have hitherto covered with opprobrium, the promise and potency of all terrestial life. . . . We claim, and we shall wrest, from theology, the entire domain of cosmological theory. All schemes and systems which thus infringe upon the domain of science, must, *in so far as they do this,* submit to its control, and

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relinquish all thought of controlling it." Although it may seem now that Tyndall need not have been so belligerent about it, he was no doubt right. So, too, was Huxley in his contention that our study of the real world should be accorded a much larger place in education, for science not only supplied the practical knowledge needed by an industrial and practical age, but indeed went even further, and supplied the basis for its philosophical thinking and its ethical assumptions.

The champions of science of the nineteenth century, however, had not fully estimated the forensic skill and the cool capacity of the champion of the humanistic aspect of culture. Matthew Arnold was a veteran in this kind of fencing. In his essay "Literature and Science" he followed the classic principles of debate. He conceded that the ascendancy of the nonscientific disciplines perpetuated an aristocratic point of view which could no longer be fully effective in a modern society. But as he moved to the offensive he asserted that neither he nor any other sensible person had ever contended that culture meant merely the elegant study of *belles lettres*. The culture of a nation, he said, includes its whole intellectual activity. He did not believe that science could ever usurp the place of the humanistic studies because such a change would neglect the powers that make for quality in human life—its conduct, its intellect and imagination, its beauty, its social life and manners. True knowledge of how to live does not depend upon scientific knowledge of the universe, but rather upon those studies that man has pursued for two thousand years, even in ages when his scientific ideas were most fantastic. A modern culture must include science; the danger was that the aggressiveness of the new science would leave no room for the humanistic and social studies. By his intolerably sweet reasonableness—and with the help of inertia—Arnold prevailed, and thereby delayed an adjustment that should have taken place in English education a hundred years ago.

Arnold, of course, by his victory had only scotched the challenge, not killed it. In the next phase speculation entered the popular imagination. H. G. Wells, who was sometimes a prophet and sometimes a historian, was always a teller of tales. In his fine and imaginative story, "The Time Machine," he is deeply concerned with the two competing aspects of the culture, the humanistic and the applied scientific. In effect, Wells extrapolates and projects into the far distant future the two aspects of the culture as he sees them in England at the turn of the century. The traveler in time comes through thousands of years to find that the population of England is made up of two different races of human beings. On the surface of the earth, living among the ruins of ancient splendor, are the Eloi, diminutive, infantile, beautiful creatures who spend their days dancing in the sun. They are incapable of sustained attention; a minute or two, and their minds have wandered away to some other trivial matter. They neither toil nor spin, but live upon the fruits of the abundant trees. Their nights, however, are spent in a very different fashion. Fearful of the dark, they huddle together as they sleep in the ruins of their once great civilization. These are the indulgent humanists of Wells's day, extrapolated into their distant future.

But more fearsome than the dark are the other inhabitants of that far-off future—the dark, grimy creatures who inhabit the bowels of the earth, and who come up from their gloomy regions to prey upon the shuddering and helpless Eloi as they sleep. For the childish and ephemeral Eloi, like the children of Ireland, are worth herding as a supply of food for their masters.

The dark dwellers of Wells's underworld are not scientists; they have been extrapolated into the future only as applied scientists. Their dusky world hums with machinery for ventilation, such light as they need and can endure, and other continuing necessities of life. The inhabitants of this lower world are grim creatures who have lost all the better attributes of humanity, and have developed their appetite and cruelty. They were once possessors of a

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science, for their technology is built upon it, but there is no sign now of the curiosity and imagination that inform science. As the Eloi have progressed in their deterioration by an ever increasing indulgence of their softer natures, so these denizens of the underground have progressed in their mechanistic qualities, gradually losing their humanity.

Wells was not primarily interested in making a prophecy, I think, nor was he especially interested in a subtle analysis of the tendencies that he could clearly see in the British nation at the beginning of the present century. Here, as elsewhere, he was chiefly concerned to tell a story that would engage the imagination of the reading public. Still, he saw these trends—on the one hand the relatively small body of the aristocracy and the gentry leading recklessly indulgent lives, dancing in the sun of their wealth and peace, and parasitically forgetful of the industrial and technological sources of their imperial power; and on the other side the crude, aggressive, and narrowly educated class from which British society now drew such technologists as it possessed. Wells was not a member by birth or wealth of the social and political establishment which controlled all the major institutions of the nation—Parliament, industry, the Army and Navy, and education—and which strove to exclude all who had not attended the great public schools. It is not clear that Wells saw the extent of the dry rot that had eaten into British society in the years before 1914. As we may see in Wells's longer novels, his sympathies were with the small business and the working classes. And yet, by profession Wells was deeply engaged in the literary aspect of culture, and he undoubtedly saw and disliked the inevitable assumption of power by the crude and insensitive technologists.

We can see now by the clearer vision that hindsight allows that England, which had been the great pioneer of the Industrial Revolution and upon that strong base had won and confirmed her empire, had rested upon her laurels and had become stagnant in technology and industry in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. While England slept, first Germany and then America took over the leadership in technology, industry and commerce. British society had favored the gentleman over the industrialist, making a sharp distinction between the two. In the Navy and Army, appointment and advancement were gained by connections and wealth. Altogether, a man's birth and class were more important than the service he performed for society. These values were clearly reflected in education, which is the arrangement society makes for the perpetuation of its culture; and here at the highest level the arts were cultivated to the neglect of the sciences. And since the future of a country, as we have now come to see so clearly, rests upon the intelligence and training of its people, this was a very serious matter. An extremely small proportion of the people were educated in the older aspects of the culture at Oxford and Cambridge and a few other universities, and the great mass of the people were given a cheap training that taught little technology or business. Indeed, even the universities and the public schools which fed them gave short shrift to science and applied science, if indeed the subjects were taught at all. The graduates were trained to become diplomats and colonial rulers and politicians. These were of course worthy tasks in themselves, but the neglect of science and technology meant that little talent was trained to serve adequately the industrial sources of national strength, and little research was undertaken to improve the techniques and materials of peace or war.

Even after Prussia had shown her might in 1871, a development similar to England's continued in France. But Germany, united as a nation and intellectually ablaze with the new learning, science and technology, began preparing for the fierce struggle for power that she saw as inevitable as the twentieth century approached. For the conditions of national greatness in the modern industrial world are inescapable. These are science, technology, endless re-

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search and hard work, ambition and aggressiveness, and the search for talent wherever it may be found. These are the ingredients for great power. They do not make for comfort and the quiet life; nor do most of them make for good manners and peace.

In his distinguished volume, *The Sword Bearers: Studies in Supreme Command in the First World War,* Correlli Barnett allots a quarter of his book to an account of Sir John Jellicoe, the British commander at the Battle of Jutland. The subtitle of the appraisal of Jellicoe is significant: "Sailor with a Flawed Cutlass." The whole book is one that should be read by all concerned with national power—by statesmen and politicians who shape the policies that may lead to war, industrialists who fashion the implements of war, and the military forces that have to conduct it. Quite as important, the book should be studied by the leaders of education who prepare all these men for the crisis.

When Jellicoe was placed in command of the British Grand Fleet, a few days before the war began, he knew that his forces were numerically superior to the German High Seas Fleet. He also knew what few in the Admiralty, the Government or the Navy knew—that in many respects the English fleet was inferior, in the design of its ships, in submarines, in torpedoes, mines, guns and shells. Worse still, the British Navy was inferior in the talent and training of its officers, for the Navy, the pride and protection of the nation, was the preserve of the wellborn and the wealthy. Appointment and advancement depended upon class, nepotism and favoritism. The navy that had the reputation of being the greatest in the world had become little more than an "exclusive yacht club." Many of the officers were men, like Beatty who ultimately succeeded Jellicoe, of dash and spirit, still thinking of battle in the terms of Nelson. Like Churchill himself at the Admiralty they were frequently brilliant as improvisers, strong in spirit, but often disastrously lacking in experience and in a comprehension of strategy. In the opinion of Barnett, the Battle of Jutland was a defeat for British technology, but he goes further in his comment: "More than that, as with the French at Crécy and Sedan, a social system had been exposed by battle as decadent and uncreative. Jutland proves that already in 1914, when Britain and her empire had never seemed richer, more powerful, more technologically able, dry rot was crumbling the inner structure of the vast mansion."

The ultimate accounting was delayed by the victory of the Allies in 1918, in large part owing to Jellicoe and the Grand Fleet. To Barnett the spectacular collapse of British industry, power and empire after the Second World War was not a sudden disaster but had been long preparing. The Battle of Jutland was merely "the final acute phase of seventy years of decline. For the principal armed service of a country—in its professional attitudes, its equipment, its officer corps—is an extension, a reflection, of that country's whole society, and especially of its dominating groups." One may add to Barnett's indictment that the British Army in the First World War was in no better case than the Navy, and extend the time of the onset of decay to the Crimean War and the charge of the Light Brigade at Balaklava.

But inventive, clever and thorough as the Germans were in their technology, organization and training, they made a fundamental mistake in high policy that defeated all their military preparations. Wisdom was not with them when they conceived and built their High Seas Fleet, for they built a fleet just large enough to be provocative and alarming to the British, but not strong enough to defeat the Grand Fleet. The result was that as soon as the war began the German commercial fleet was driven from the seas, her colonies and markets lost, and ultimately a severe shortage of food and other crucial supplies was created at home. The education of the leaders of Germany, unquestionably the first nation in the world in the late nineteenth century in scientific and technological achievement, was lack-

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ing in breadth and was specialized to a degree that, however efficient they were in the immediate circumstances, inhibited a larger view. The makers of high policy in Germany in the First World War, as again in the Second, seemed to lack the wisdom, perspective, and above all the understanding of human nature which (far beyond psychology) a study of biography, history and literature would have given them. If one may presume to prescribe for the German mind, one would insist upon a deep study of *hubris,* a quality best seen in the works of the great tragic dramatists, ancient and modern. As a wise friend reminds me, a lack of understanding can be as fatal as a lack of knowledge.

To one like myself inclined to read the character, quality, vigor and intelligence of a nation most clearly in the education it provides for its people, such history is most illuminating. For a hundred years after 1810, when the University of Berlin was founded, German universities made their country the intellectual capital of the world, the place to which scholars and scientists looked first for light and leading. Here was to be found the new learning and the new method, deeply grounded upon science and intensely professional. By contrast, English education was stagnant and uncreative. Of course, England had its scientific geniuses—Lyell, Darwin, Faraday, Maxwell, Rutherford and others —but most of these men were not actively connected with universities, and their work was done elsewhere. Oxford and Cambridge set the tone of education and they were deeply immersed in the college system, and had not found the way to become true modern universities. Moreover, until very late they offered to an almost exclusive degree only the literary, humanistic aspects of education—the older culture that Sir Charles Snow wished to see displaced. It is true, of course, that this traditional education was one of very considerable quality in itself, and produced a fine race of statesmen, diplomats, managers of colonies, scholars, thinkers, artists and writers. True, the greatness of nations and civilizations as history recognizes it is to be found in the accomplishments of just such men. They may sometimes provide wisdom in the conduct of war and policy, but not often now are they the sinews of power. It may be possible to be a small, weak and happy nation, eminent in the arts that make life interesting and gracious, but such a nation can at the same time hardly aspire to be a first-rate power in our competitive world. This is England's dilemma. In the hope of recovering England's greatness among modern nations, Sir Charles advocates a new culture and education, built upon science and technology, which will replace the customary programs of British education, and make for power. Like Tyndall and Huxley, Sir Charles wants a great deal. Perhaps such a demand is inevitable in circumstances where tradition is so entrenched, and the new has been so long frustrated from gaining even a respectable place in the curriculum. It has taken two devastating wars and the loss of an empire to shake the tradition; but now a new challenge is given, and this time it may have more effect than it has had before.

The pertinence to America and American education of the Battle of Jutland and the advantages and deficits of English and German education in the last one hundred and fifty years may not be immediately apparent, but I believe it is real. The colonial colleges of New England and Virginia were founded upon the English models, and the influence of Oxford and Cambridge went a good deal deeper than external organization. That influence determined the direction of the studies; and the curricula of the American colleges for more than two centuries was heavily traditional and literary. This education aimed to prepare preachers, lawyers and politicians to serve and guide the state. The ideal and the means of achieving it are still strong in our Eastern educational institutions. By and large, the students in the colleges of the Ivy League and in the smaller private colleges of the region ma-

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jor in history, English and American literature, philosophy, political science and economics, and the larger part of the talent of these colleges is headed for law and industry. These students look forward to being the managers of our society in government, business and industry, as their fathers have been before them and are now. Yet the dangers that we have seen in British education have not been altogether absent in these American institutions. They, too, have until only recently been the preserve of the wealthy—exclusive clubs where place was obtained by inheritance. Only lately has an aroused awareness of the true necessities of the nation made the colleges less receptive to preferential demands, and many a bewildered parent today has a feeling of being betrayed by the old school when there is no place there for his son. Only lately, too, has keen competition spurred the younger graduates of these colleges to see that a more rigorous and extended training and a higher level of performance is required of them if they are to hold their place in an aggressive society.

In the nineteenth century, however, a movement of great significance in American higher education took place—the rise of universities based upon the German model; in the East such institutions as Johns Hopkins, Cornell and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and in the Middle West the state universities like Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota, among others. To these, one must add Chicago and Stanford to the private list, and California (Berkeley) to the public. The great model for these institutions was the University of Berlin, and here again the foreign influence went far beyond structure and organization. It affected the very habit of university life, and dictated largely the content and methods of the studies. A scientific ideal permeated all studies, even the humanistic ones, and professors became professionals, dedicated to research. Indeed, the ideal of research and the accompanying interest in its technical applications was prevalent everywhere. In Wisconsin and Michigan, for example, the Universities were dedicated to direct service to the commonwealth, so much so that Wisconsin became known as the University State. Such older universities as Yale and Harvard established special schools for the study of science and technology. War, whose main effect is destruction, often creates; and the Civil War did much both in disclosing to the nation the great need for an improved technology, and in getting it off to a fast start. Like the educational system of Germany, the university movement emphasized specialization and professional training, usually to the slighting of the broader liberal studies. It was characteristic of the trend that Johns Hopkins, the university leader of the country for a time, only reluctantly came to see the necessity for an undergraduate college. In Germany, the student hastened from the *Gymnasium* to his professional studies in the university. In the new American universities the student often went directly to engineering or science from high school, or entered a combined program that provided him with a more immediate profession than did the program in liberal arts. The trend has gone so far that in many institutions the student is inclined to think literature, history and philosophy are studies suitable only for girls.

In the competitive pressures of today, both national and individual, intense specialization has increased in every college in the country, and some colleges, acting in ignorance or panic, have virtually allowed the humanistic studies to be crowded into a minimal place in their students' programs. One of the greatest necessities of the present day is for academic statesmen who are able to comprehend and fuse these trends from our early and our more recent past into the one great culture of which they are really only parts. The culture of a nation creates its education; in turn, the education of a nation enters into the creation of the ever-renewed culture. It is the part of wisdom to see the culture as one continuous total-

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ity, as it surely is, rather than to sharpen the issues between different parts. The need for the scientific and technological aspect is vital if we are to survive and prosper, but the strength and virtues of the tradition that has built a deep idealism into the American character over the generations should neither be belittled nor cast out. The two strands in the educational aspect of our culture, the humanistic derived from England and the scientific from Germany, are in uneasy balance in our colleges today. The hard struggles of war and international politics abroad and fierce competition at home since 1940 have elevated the newer aspect into a position of dominance. But the tradition and substance of learning that has served Western civilization so well for twenty-five hundred years cannot be ignored, and surely there should be ample room in the educational plan of a nation that aspires to be great. If America is to be renowned in history for the wisdom and magnanimity of her leadership among the nations as well as for her competence in protecting her people and the sources of her power, her men and women must be educated greatly.

Sir Charles Snow's challenge of the traditional culture, deeply embedded in the English educational system, rose I think from his distress at the spectacular decline of his nation's power in this century, and his hope of providing a method of recovery through a rigorous new education and culture. Undoubtedly, an element of desperation enters into his proposed cure; and there are advantages as well as necessities in his panacea. But there would be losses of an incalculable sort, too, if England, in her eagerness to regain her power, should abandon altogether the values she has traditionally contributed to our world.

Today, the whirligig of time has elevated the United States into the position of power once held by Britain; and we are committed as a nation to maintain our place of power and glory in a material world. This fact, of course, has far-reaching implications. One of these is that our institutions must be more than kept up-to-date, especially the education and training of our people. Another is that we must allot a huge proportion of our wealth to research, to science and technology, for the maintenance of our power abroad and our health and welfare at home. But to go headlong in the pursuit of power to the exclusion of other values has many dangers. We may easily slip into the ugly posture of Sparta or Prussia and become a curse and a byword to the world. This would be painful to us, for we would have to give up our childish hope of being loved as a nation. Already to our bewilderment we are feared and hated in many parts of the world. Mastership is paid for at a high cost.

And we have that much older commitment to consider—the early and lasting commitment that we have given to democracy. There are subtler implications here than our national resolve to provide public education for all as far as each student is capable of taking it. We must actively search out talent wherever it may be found in our population, and take the greatest care to keep the way open for that talent to rise. In these operations our schools and colleges have already acknowledged their heavy obligations. But there are dangers here, too. One is that in our yearning for equality our judgments may become sentimental. A far greater danger lies in man's very human instinct, under the pressures of a very diverse society, to favor his caste, his relatives and friends, and to form exclusive clubs in the manner of English society. This tendency is evident in the closed organization of our political parties, local and national, in the interlocking directorates of our industrial corporations, and sometimes in the boards of our colleges and universities. If we are to keep the morale of our society healthy that society must be free, democratic and open. There should be little room for exclusion of any kind in our public institutions. And this, too, is part of the cost of power.

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Fortunately for us, America is not now under the stern compulsion of Britain to regain power, and we do not have to think of our culture as half scientific and half humanistic, with a choice that must be made between the two parts. To drive headlong for the scientific aspects of culture would probably secure our power in the world, but would cost too much in terms of human life and happiness. We are in a position where we can aspire to a single culture, comprehending the total intellectual activity of man—and his mode of living, too, in the broadened definition of culture that modern anthropology has given us. We are fortunate in our geography, in our people with their mixed and generally healthy traditions, and above all in the vast resources that permit us to cultivate all aspects of culture. If we can make a harmonious whole of our mixed heritage instead of deepening the rift, we might create in this green and pleasant land something much more worthy in the eye of history than a great cult of power—that is, a civilization great in the arts of peace as well as war.

> O, it is excellent
> To have a giant's strength; but it is tyrannous
> To use it like a giant.

So, from the older aspect of culture in his and Bacon's time, spoke Shakespeare, lending his wisdom to the newer.

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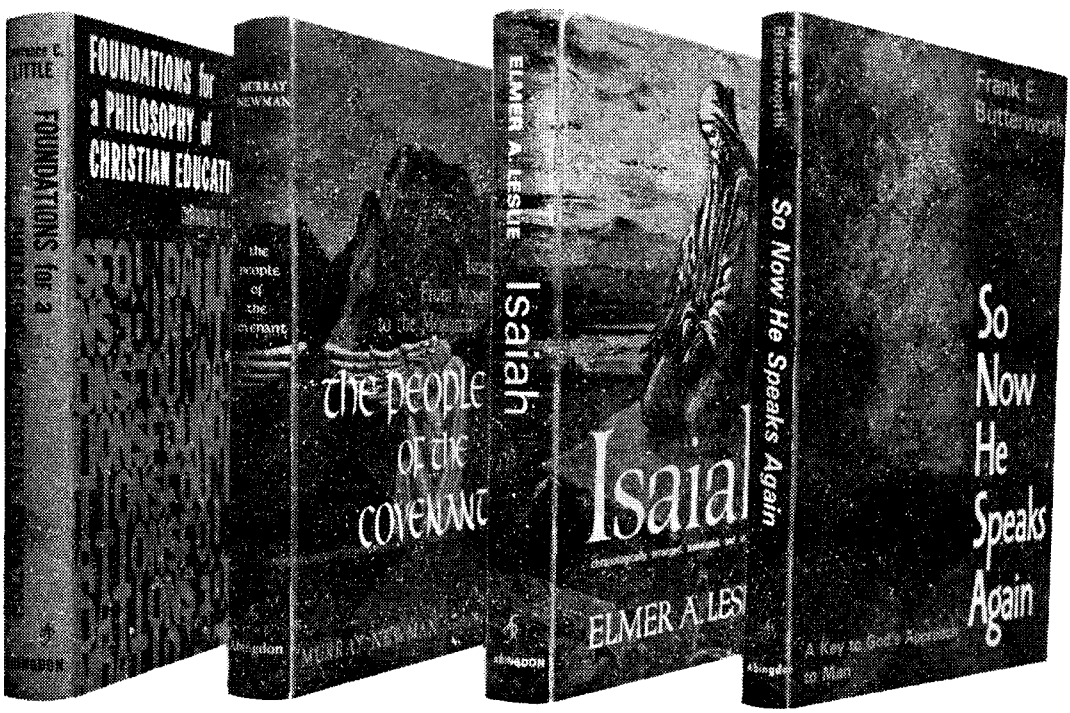

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Editorial: A Special Issue

The summer of discontent is ended. In a short time more, we shall have resolved one of the questions before us, that of leadership for the nation for the next four years. Then, if we are vigilant, we must attend some counsel from the recent past: let both sides explore the problems that unite us instead of belaboring longer the things that have divided us.

That is the task that was set for us by the late John F. Kennedy in his Inaugural Address with what now seems the farsighted advice that it would not be finished "in the life of this Administration, nor even perhaps in our lifetime on this planet."

THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, in this issue, undertakes to explore some of the problems that can unite us: the abolition of poverty, the curbing of crime, the enlargement of education, the furtherance of employment opportunities, the expansion of citizenship, first-class, to all Americans.

In this undertaking neither the editors nor the authors have sought to promote unity via uniformity of opinion. Instead we have considered national unity a goal to be reached through the democratic process of debate and discussion. Thus the exploration of some of these problems is guided by several authors using several approaches. After all, if so diverse a land is to be a house united, it will have to be a house of many mansions.

Yet in our concern for where we are going we have tried to be not unmindful of where we are now. Perhaps our society has reached a point in time when it will have to learn some new habits and unlearn some old ones, acquire some new attitudes and discard some old ones that no longer serve any purpose. If so, it is a time for taking stock of the current state of the arts—writing, music, architecture, painting, and that sometimes distorted mirror of life, the movies. Situation or progress reports,

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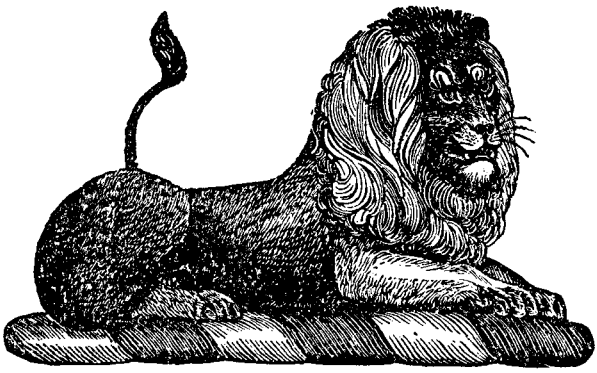
if you will, in these worlds of their own are presented in this issue in a special section: THE ARTS IN AMERICA, 1964.

Throughout, to repeat a comment once made in these pages by Hiram Haydn, who with this issue marks his twentieth anniversary as editor of the SCHOLAR, "the method we have used in developing the contents of this number seems to me characteristic of what is the best hope of our society, even our civilization: Do not impose a particular exclusive form or invoke a particular ritual in the pursuit of truth; find the best people you can and ask them to give you their best."

MARY MOORE MOLONY



WOODCUTS IN THIS ISSUE BY THOMAS BEWICK

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But Westward, Look! . . .

T. S. MATTHEWS

FROM THIS OFFSHORE ISLAND of Britain, this little country where an American can often feel natural but where he can never feel at home, the United States seems very far away. Not so far as France, of course, and in some ways not far at all: a couple of days by airmail, a few hours by plane, instantaneously by telephone (qualified by the eerie fact that we over here have already lived through six hours that you still have coming to you). And distance, like time, is elastic. America at the moment is much closer than usual, for I've just been there and will be going again in a few months. But this nearness, I know, is a temporary illusion, like the setting sun that seems to hang steady on the horizon. In a week or so America will have settled itself, invisible and far, beyond the rim of the Atlantic.

If I were only here on a trip the distance would not be nearly so great. The length of time we are "in for" somehow increases the space between us and home. In that sadistic little nursery tale, *The Man without a Country,* Philip Nolan, banished for life from his native land, must have felt as the first astronauts landing on the moon will feel if they discover that they can never make the return journey. England is not the moon, and no sentence of banishment prevents me from going home when I want to. If some curious acquaintance (never a friend) asks me whether I have settled in England permanently, my answer is that "permanent" is a dirty word when applied to an American.

Americans are a restless and uneasy people. We never perhaps willingly settle down; but most of us get caught by the responsibilities of a family or by the demands of a job, and that's the usual reason we live where we do. Very few are lucky enough to go where

© T. S. MATTHEWS, who now lives in London, is a former editor of *Time* magazine. His most recent book is *O My America!*

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they choose, and stay there if they want to. I had the luck. So here I am, in a foreign land.

The foreignness of foreign parts, which is one of their chief attractions, begins to wear off after a while. In some places it wears off fast. I can barely remember how old-world the little college town of Princeton (in 1915) appeared to my Midwestern eyes, and how magical it was to be immersed for the first time in the summery winter light of California, and the taste of the soft December air of Florida, and the look and smell of Paris when I was nineteen. Never again. The foreignness of England is subtler. For an American particularly the country holds such baffling hints and almost-memories that the strangeness of this alien but familiar land wears away more slowly. But it does wear away.

A few years ago (it's too late now) I thought of writing something in praise of London, which is still my favorite city although it has begun to turn ugly, in various disappointing ways. I might have started like this: "I go for London the way a great many of my fellow Americans go for Barry Goldwater, and for the same reason: we wish real life were like that." Real life for me is still New York, where to survive you must be as tensely expert as a surfboard rider; the reward is to be carried along on the crest of the wave, and the penalty is to be drowned and eaten by fish or to be cast up, battered and sick, on the beach.

There are, I am told, some native New Yorkers crannied away on Manhattan Island, but most of us who lived there had to make an extravagant pretense that we belonged to the place. Once, arriving in Pennsylvania Station after a journey, my wife shocked me by saying, "How nice to be home again!" And when my five-year-old son announced that the most beautiful sound in the world was the noise of taxi tires swishing along Park Avenue on a wet night, I knew it was high time to get away.

For Americans, home is where you come from, home is the place you leave. If you do want to go back, quite often it has changed out of all knowledge or even ceased to exist, so how could they take you in, as Robert Frost says they must? Few of us live in the house where we were born, and almost none in our grandfather's house. In England many people still stay put, and have

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for generations; Americans like to see that, although it's a way we'll never be ourselves. Perhaps we have to get away from our own dooryards before we can see what a dooryard might be like. But this is speculation, and maybe a little off the point. The point is that in England an American is a long way from home.

A long way, and a silent one. The hush that distance imposes is also an illusion, contradicted by recent and deafening memories. Nevertheless, at this remove the dynamo hum of America is inaudible, and it's easy to imagine—it's sometimes hard *not* to imagine—life in the United States at a silent standstill, a movie film frozen at the point where we got up and left the theatre. It's no use telling yourself that in the United States it's even easier to forget that life is going on anywhere else. Out of touch—that's what my friends at home keep telling me I am. Yes, but who isn't? That's part of the cost of being somewhere: that you're out of touch with everywhere else. All that's needed is an ocean between, or only a mountain range, or a boundary where the language changes. After the distance and the silence the next most forceful impression you get is of America's unawareness—its unconsciousness that anything real, or anything much, is happening elsewhere.

At this point my journalist friends in New York or Washington would give me a long, pitying stare and then overwhelm me with evidence of America's awareness of the world and of American involvement with many parts of it—the United Nations, NATO, Vietnam, Laos, Berlin, Cuba, Formosa, Voice of America, Sixth Fleet, Eleventh Fleet, Hundred and Twenty-fifth Fleet, U. S. Information Service, C.I.A., *et cetera, et cetera, et cetera.* They win the argument (if that's what it is) hands down: the U. S. Government has its fingers in many foreign pies, so it must know what's cooking, mustn't it?

But that's not the way it looks from over here. People over here, who are just as much wrapped up in their own lives and as little interested in "international affairs" as most Americans are —in other words, they're just like people everywhere—don't take much stock in American concern with world problems, and tend to dismiss American actions abroad as intermittent, absent-minded or inept. (They're apt to be even more critical of their own gov-

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ernment's performance.) To my anxious American eye it looks even worse: it looks as if America's "fight against Communism" is really a struggle to save face, not to lose prestige.

When I go home, and talk with friends and family, I get the reassuring sense that everything is going along as usual, with at least ninety-five percent of their time and attention absorbed by their jobs and their private affairs; they aren't panicky about a sudden rain of nuclear missiles, they don't lie awake nights worrying about the Communist menace to the free world. And when I'm back here again, their letters carry the same tone. Even though letters are small-centered and private, they sometimes convey between the lines an echo of how things are with the country and the people. The British press, parochial as it is—although not, I think, quite so parochial as the American—brings me bits of what journalists vaguely call "news," and now and then the more revealing bits of gossip that *I* call news. Like hundreds of thousands of others over here, I listen to Alistair Cooke's weekly "Letter from America" on the B.B.C. If all these gobbets of chat, quips, comment and so-called information could be boiled down by a computer, would the result be an accurate and comprehensive briefing of what's really going on in America? I don't for a moment suppose so. And yet this hodgepodge does convey an overall impression very different from the solemn tidings of the newspaper pundits and the statesmen.

These may not be peaceful times but this is peace we are living in, and we all know it and are thankful that we are not at war. But our "leaders"—and the journalism that reports their doings and their ceaseless speeches—tell us quite another story: that we are stumbling from crisis to crisis, that we are teetering on the brink of disaster, that we are undergoing a revolution, that we are not on daylight-saving time but doom-time, and that it's later than we think.

The American papers I read regularly are not considered sensation-mongers, either: the New York *Times* (the Paris edition, which comes every day when fog on the Channel doesn't hold it up) and *Time*. The *Times,* which looks greyer than ever alongside the livelier and better printed London papers, is useful as a ba-

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rometer. One glance at its front page will tell you what the world weather is at the moment. This morning, for instance, there wasn't a single big headline, and at the top of the page was a picture of Clare Boothe Luce, with a gleaming smile and looking extraordinarily young and hopefully Republican—so I knew that at the moment everything was all right. And the "events" the *Times* considers front-page news are also reassuring: Thant *Endorses* . . . , Khrushchev *Warns* . . . , Communist Peril *Worries* . . . , Lodge *Appeals* . . . , Tshombe *Scores* . . . , Scranton *Sees* . . . , Baker *Assailed* . . . , Johnson *Praises* . . . All those headlines were there this morning, to give you the comfortable feeling that not much is happening, as usual, but as usual there's still plenty to talk about.

James Reston of the *Times*'s Washington bureau, in some ways the most accomplished of the staff's veterans, gives me expert forecasts of the political weather and learned gossip about who's who and what's what behind the Washington scenes. But the most illuminating news I find in the *Times* is in Russell Baker's column, *Observer.* Here, under the guise of gentle and most un-*Times*-like satire and the pretense that he is only poking fun at superficial fads, Baker's commentary on American life is more penetrating than Al Capp's, and sometimes as funny.

And there's always the *New Yorker* and the *Saturday Review,* and now the *New York Review of Books,* to help keep me posted. All these variously accented soliloquies do not begin to make up the whole voice of America, I know, but they do add up to a small chorus. They also subtract from the illusion of silence and the fact of distance. But I read them over here, and that makes a difference. There comes a time, for example, when the first thing you look at in the *New Yorker* is the advertisements, and they seem shockingly at variance with the civilized tone of the magazine itself: as if in them Texas is talking, and as if Neiman-Marcus' voice were louder than E. B. White's.

As for *Time* (a subject on which I claim to speak with at least as much authority as an ex-governess in the Royal Family on her former infant charges): if *Time* represents America as a whole, then China is indeed a mutinous province of Formosa, and I'm a hairy Ainu. But *Time* is full of up-to-the-minute gossip; its po-

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litical "news" faithfully shadows the zigs and zags of the Republican party line; and its letters-to-the-editor are a useful reminder that vindictive crackpots and belligerent maniacs are still at large in the American prairies, swamps and suburbs.

The President of the United States, who is the spokesman and in a misty way the leader of all Americans, presumably tries to think of America as a unity. The effort must be as formidable for him as for a chameleon on a crazy quilt, and as impossible: I suppose on weekdays he concentrates on one specific problem after another, and keeps the attempt to envisage the whole country for special occasions, like Sundays. The rest of us, who haven't his responsibilities, can let our imaginations roam and talk about "America" doing this or saying that or being the other, when what we mean is that these things are being said or done in regions or by groups in the United States. And yet we all, the President included, find it impossible to speak of America as a whole without this mythical assumption that the nation is an entity, a much more united entity than it really is. Generalizations are fascinating, especially to journalists, who must simplify or burst. (Also to scientists, but their generalizations have to hold heavier water.) And perhaps especially to journalists who are far enough away from what they are looking at to get it in focus (they must take their chances on getting out of touch). "America" is a myth all Americans have to believe in.

That there are one hundred and ninety-odd million Americans, each one a unique person, is a fact the human mind can accept but cannot comprehend: that number of individuals is simply too many to imagine. Nevertheless we constantly have occasion to conjure up the country they inhabit, so we fall back on metaphor and pretend that "America" is the sum total of Americans. And from a distance, from my distance, it is possible to see various manifestations—emanations, you might call them—rising from the American trans-continent like thunderstorms or visible anticyclones.

These phenomena, I must say, are not nearly so plain to the eye when I am in America; nor do they get more than a passing reference in my letters from home. But they loom big and black

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in the newspapers, both American and British. You can't say in fairness that the press invents them: the press merely reports and quotes, with the slight distortion and out-of-context overemphasis —and suppressions—that every newspaper with a point of view must make if it's to be true to itself. And what newspaper *hasn't* a point of view?

The fact that I am an American, that I go home frequently, that I constantly get letters from America, and that I have been a journalist myself—all these things, I think, help me to discount or to put into clearer focus some of the exaggerations in the press reports about America. But the British among whom I live read the papers with their kind of spectacles, not mine; and their comments are bound to affect my opinion, even when I'm pretty sure I'm right and that they've got it wrong.

The British, for instance, are quite prepared to believe that hysteria is not far below the American surface. For "hysteria" I would read "violence." Because the British have a generally low opinion of the American way of life, they are not so shocked as I am by the evidences of lawlessness and brutal malignity that keep cropping up in news reports from America. The British attitude is that in public manners and political morals the large and mongrel American nation is simply deficient. What can you expect, they seem to say, of a country that allows its policemen to go armed like gunmen—and are probably in cahoots with the gangsters; where cars are ridiculously overpowerful and oversize; where everyone chews gum with his (and her) mouth open, and talks in a monotonous and ugly accent; a country that can endure Southern Senators, who are themselves only slightly below the intellectual level of their fellow legislators; whose largest city is so lawless that miles of its nighttime streets are too dangerous to walk in; where juvenile delinquents are crowding out the older criminals; where the blue-haired dowagers of the D.A.R. are regarded as aristocrats; where the John Birch Society and the Ku Klux Klan are widely held to be respectable organizations; where pea-brained demagogues like Billy James Hargis and Dr. Carl McIntire (to name only two) can convince their "super-patriot" followers that Chief Justice Warren should be impeached for being a Socialist

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and that ex-President Eisenhower was in league with the Communists; where the only observable consistency of the nation's foreign policy seems to be always to back the reactionary regime, thus involving America in booby traps and blind alleys and threatening to drag its dependent allies into a war nobody wants?

I don't say that *all* British think this way—a great many, perhaps most, don't bother their heads about it one way or the other—but this is the line a great many British would take, if you pressed them. It is an extremely critical attitude but not (I think) unfriendly, although at the same time the latent anti-American feeling here is deep and widespread. The British are expert at living with mixed emotions that would hopelessly confuse a clearer-thinking people like the French. Their paradoxical view of America is a compound of envy and admiration, friendliness and dislike. And they don't all hate the vulgarity and shoddiness, emotional, intellectual and material, that form a large and integral part of American exports to Britain; in fact, that merely puts ideas into some of their heads to go and do likewise. They haven't much trust in America as a leader, not so much because they fear the belligerence of American power but because they see endless hazards in American ingenuousness, idealism and misinformation or lack of knowledge about the rest of the world.

In case of war Britain is more than vulnerable, it's a sitting duck to the Russian nuclear hawks, and the British know it. They're resigned to the inevitability of that kind of danger. They think America is more dangerously vulnerable: to the fear of danger. (I think they overestimate the fearfulness of the American *people,* whose capacity for sticking to one subject is limited: I think the American people are tired of being afraid of Russia, and their apprehensiveness is now focused on the "Communist-inspired" Negroes, egghead liberals and "creeping Socialists." It's the American *Government,* committee-and-contract-bound to the military establishment, that can't and daren't abandon its fear of Russia—any more than the Kremlin dare abandon its fear of us.)

Whenever I come back to America I feel homesick. Not everywhere and not all the time—but here and there, and in general.

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I also feel alarm and disgust: at American complacency, which takes for granted the bad, expensive food, the insensate waste, the swollen, third-rate newspapers, the Balkan inefficiency of the postal service, the pig-pen squalor of public transport, the patterned ugliness of the towns, the senseless desecration of the countryside, the inconveniences and discomforts of city life—none of which Americans notice, or notice with only half an eye, because they are used to all these things or because they consider them necessary concomitants to "expansion," the meek and hideous handmaidens to the Gross National Product. Gross is the word for it.

Is it any wonder that, in a country where the Southerners have only lately been forced to admit openly that they are anti-Negro, there is still no open admission that nearly all the "nice people" are anti-Semitic? Here is one tiny but significant example, from an obituary notice in the *Princeton Alumni Weekly,* contributed by the Class of 1919 (their classmate's name was Cohen): "His wife Lee states that his bitter attitude toward Princeton was largely a pose; that throughout his life he valued and tried to maintain the high standards he had been exposed to as an undergraduate." It's a wonder he didn't die of exposure at the time.

There are sane men who think the whole world insane, and doomed. Both halves of our world are being continually told that the other half is mad and murderous and will have to be destroyed; many Americans believe this, many Russians and Chinese also. Even on our side there are grave doubts of our ability to weather the storm we are helping to whistle up. The Europeans question our intelligence and the quality of our knowledge; the British wonder whether we are altogether sound. Only the Americans really believe in America.

From this offshore island of Britain, where I feel natural, impermanent and not at home, I look westward to my own country, and I wonder too. I can't laugh about it, the way Mencken used to. Sometimes it frightens me, as his Peninsular army frightened the Duke of Wellington; sometimes it shames me; sometimes it almost turns my bones to water at the thought of the blunt fingers on the hair triggers. I no longer share my fellow countrymen's faith that America is the hope of the world; if there is any hope

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for the world I don't think it will be contained within the boundaries of a nation.

My feeling about America is more like helpless and hopeless love: an unreasonable emotion that goes against the probabilities and the evidence. I think that America, like the rest of the world (which, as an American, I care much less about), is uncontrollably on the wrong track. I believe that there are millions of kindly, well-meaning and intelligent Americans, but millions more who are neither kindly, well-meaning nor intelligent, and that these corrupt citizens have become the majority and the source of power for the blundering bureaucracies that, more mindless than computers, shape our destinies. As a result, the United States presents to the world an image (in Edmund Wilson's words) that is "self-intoxicated, homicidal and menacing."

I admit the existence of the image but I desperately deny that it fairly pictures the reality. As an American I must deny it, or cease to be an American.

But westward, look, the land is bright!

Yes, every morning that the sun still rises, the land is bright.

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Our Romance with Poverty

JOHN HERSEY

AN EMERGENT FASHION IN THE SPENDING OF PUBLIC FUNDS is the devotion of Federal and state aid to piecemeal attacks on poverty. "We're having a romance with the poor," says Mitchell Sviridoff, who, as director of one city's foray against destitution—New Haven's Community Progress Incorporated—recognizes not only the guilt-laden sentimentality but also the hard operating facts, to say nothing of the political glitter, of this sort of spending. The trailbreakers for the public spenders in this particular wilderness have been, of course, the foundations. This article will briefly describe two foundation-funded assaults on poverty, both primarily in the field of education, and will hazard certain desirable principles for future efforts of the kind that taxpayers may be sponsoring. Unless some such principles govern, particularly in the shaping of the educational aspects of the nation's "war on poverty," these attacks will have amounted to nothing more indeed than fashion, good money and better sentiment will have been misspent, a negotiable political ideal will have degenerated into hypocrisy, and today's inequities will quite possibly have flowered into social chaos.

The first example was bred in crisis. On June 2, 1959, the Board of Supervisors of Prince Edward County, Virginia, bent upon forestalling integration, voted "with profound regret" to adopt a county budget for the following year that made no provision at all for public schools. A private academy, for whites only, was founded and subsidized by tuition grants from the state government. For four years more than 1,700 Negro children had no formal schooling. Last year, at last, a number of foundations put up money for an invention, the Prince Edward Free School As-

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sociation—in effect, a private school for Negroes, although its classrooms were to be open to all and a few whites eventually attended. An adroit, daring and strong-minded Superintendent, a Northerner, Dr. Neil V. Sullivan, set about hiring, borrowing and stealing a staff on the shortest kind of notice, and he came up with a gallimaufry of master teachers and raw college kids, of pros and volunteers, mostly people who combined fierce idealism with a willingness to try anything; their freewheeling zeal may indeed have been the key to the successes of the Prince Edward experiment. The teachers' ardency found its reciprocal in a glacier of human needs on the pupils' side: their families' average annual income was less than $1,800, and after four abandoned years the children were half-starved, their clothes were ragged, their teeth were rotting, their souls were set away from the world; many of them were apathetic, silent, cowed, sullen, uncommunicative—and little wonder. Sullivan started by feeding and dressing these too-young derelicts; a central kitchen was set up, where the children of employed parents were charged fifteen cents for a full meal and others ate free; and a clothing drive, which eventually outfitted every child, was conducted in Northern school districts. Nurses checked the children's health; a full-time dentist refurbished their teeth. Virginia had no compulsory school-attendance law, and Sullivan's zealots had to try to persuade the pupils, and often their parents, that society wanted the children, that with the help of schooling they could make their ways, that this was not just another in a long series of public cheats. Into the classrooms, in the end, where nine- and ten-year-olds arrived never having had a day in school, Sullivan and his staff threw every device of the most sophisticated modern suburban school: ungraded classrooms (the children were simply put into "compatible groups," and these groups were reshuffled as the pupils moved from subject to subject); team teaching (master teachers, with assistants, taught single subjects all day long); a multiplicity of textbooks; major emphasis on reading skills; flexible scheduling (when a group was not making sufficient progress in reading, it was put on double time in that discipline); unfixed goals; skepticism of standardized testing; variable class sizes; avoidance of rote assignments and of yes-and-no

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questions; extensive use of audio-visual techniques and of educational television. The school day was lengthened, and school remained open on Saturday and Sunday. The children were exposed to music, art, plays, the dance and motion pictures. Most of the pupils had never been to the state capital, Richmond, and many had never even seen the county seat, Farmville; field trips, near and far—as far as New York—were mounted. The school library was brought up to the standards recommended by the American Library Association; every child was given a dictionary. . . . And what were the results of all this? Many of these children made four years' progress in one; nine of the twenty-three students who were deemed eligible for higher education were actually admitted to colleges. New hopes were engendered; undreamed-of possibilities opened up. Before the extended school year had run its course, the Supreme Court had ruled the whites' expedient of private schooling in Prince Edward County unconstitutional. Now it remains to be seen what increment will be carried into the county's public schools of the extraordinary no-holds-barred year Dr. Sullivan and his staff have given the poverty-stricken children of one Southern county.

Our other example, the aforementioned Community Progress Incorporated, of New Haven, Connecticut, is a response not to crisis, at least in the headline sense, but rather to that "normalcy" within which cities persist in harboring slums. It was Mayor Richard C. Lee's effort, beginning a decade ago, to retrieve New Haven from economic and physical decay through a redevelopment program that led in the end to the formation of C.P.I. The cleanup produced the usual concomitants of such redevelopments: the uprooting of the poor, their relocation, the recrudescence of new slums replacing the bulldozed ones—for, as the bitter wits of social engineering have said, "Urban renewal means Negro removal," and "The greenbelt is what separates the white belt from the black belt"; Italian-Americans and Polish-Americans as well as Negroes were affected by New Haven's upheaval. To deal with all this a remarkable coalition of forces set about attacking not the symptoms of poverty but the great illness itself. C.P.I., financed by the Ford Foundation and by other funds from Federal,

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state and local sources, became the instrument for that attack, and the schools became its focus. C.P.I. guides and coordinates all the social-action agencies in the city—those concerned with education, employment, housing, health, welfare, recreation—and channels nearly all their efforts into and through the schools. Neighborhood schools, then, become centers for education in a quite new sense: education that enfolds young and old alike and is no longer merely a path to adult citizenship but is rather a forging and shaping and tempering of life itself in the very process of its being lived. There is no such thing in New Haven's community schools as a "school day" and an "after-school day"; these schools are busy from eight in the morning until late at night, and they are open on weekends, and they are used in summers. There is a C.P.I. neighborhood-service coordinator in each school, working primarily in areas of social services and social action. Also in the schools are a park-and-recreation supervisor, a group-work supervisor, a lawyer, a nurse, other health-and-welfare agents, and volunteers, often Yale students, who offer tutoring or "higher-horizons" activities (for example, *Androcles and the Lion* presented by Negro fifth and sixth graders). Each community school program includes various neighborhood activities, and a recent week's sampling of these functions in the Winchester School bespeaks their range: Modern Dance, Renters' Forum, Rifle Club, Readers' Theater, Negro Youth for Equality, Trampoline, Senior Citizens' Bingo, N.A.A.C.P. Prekindergarten nursery schools start the social process early. The employment program, also focused on the schools although housed outside them, concentrates on discovering actual job opportunities and then training students to fill them, so jobs and trainees are matched beforehand. Work-and-study programs help to keep potential dropouts in school. Altogether, C.P.I. is the most diversified and dynamic city-wide attack on the roots of poverty so far mounted in the United States.

Even though Prince Edward County's Free School and New Haven's C.P.I. have each had only one full year's operation, their vivid experiences warrant the postulation of certain principles for all succeeding school-based efforts to alleviate poverty:

1. *No single approach will suffice.* Education in isolation can-

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not wipe out poverty; an employment program, no matter how brilliantly mounted, cannot do it alone; housing alone is obviously not the answer; traditional social services by themselves cannot accomplish much beyond palliation. Protagonists of each of these approaches, and of others, tend to be, as reformers must be, obsessed people, and it is not easy to persuade them that nothing less than a comprehensive attack on all fronts at once, a total war, is the only method that has even a chance of being effective. In Prince Edward County, the Negro children who were beneficiaries of one superb year of education are, as they move now into more or less integrated schools, still encapsulated in a social system from which pure schooling cannot free them. Education is, alas, not the panacea many wish it were. It may be, though, that the school-centered comprehensive assault, as refined in New Haven, is the most promising line of attack. It has one great virtue: the teacher who sees in her school, far beyond book-bound "social studies," all the real problems of the underprivileged being dealt with close at hand—unemployment, foul housing, delinquency, poor health, legal helplessness, broken old people—will develop understandings that may make her classroom relevant to actual life. From the windows of the magnificent Conte School in a predominantly Italian area in New Haven, a teacher can see pregnant young mothers, with numerous preschool children in tow, walking through the school grounds to go shopping, and old men repairing the bocci court or playing checkers across the way in the Senior Citizens' Center which is part of the school plant; the school is the nerve center of the neighborhood. Conte has rightly been called a little educational T.V.A., and it is precisely the all-fronts nature of T.V.A. that is needed in the fight against poverty.

2. *A truly massive attack is needed.* The one devastating criticism that can be levied against both the Prince Edward experiment and C.P.I. is that, good as they have been, they have barely scratched the surface of the problem. There were only two hundred twenty children in the preprimary nursery schools in New Haven; only one hundred fourteen youths in the work crews. The psychological effect of these samplings has been bracing, but the economic effect is not yet demonstrable. Foundations put up $635,775 for the

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effort in one county of Virginia, and the various grants to C.P.I. in one small New England city have amounted to more than $8,000,000. Multiply these sums, which were grossly inadequate to the needs of the two cases, by the factor of needs all across the country, and we will see that the $350,000,000 provided for comprehensive community programs in President Johnson's anti-poverty "war" is pitifully, even absurdly, inadequate. The war against poverty, waged for victory rather than lip service, will doubtless cost fully as much as the war against Nazism and Japanese militarism. We have not yet even begun to think in terms adequate to the enemy.

3. *It will be a long war.* It is yet to be proved that the spending of money will alleviate the want of it, but there is not time to wait for proof. We are dealing here with the healing of generations, yet the urgency is of an hour-to-hour order. It has been well said that one who wants to change a school system must have the time sense of a geologist; but right now administrative and psychological earthquakes are needed, not only in the schools but in all the establishments involved in this undertaking. Particular kinds of both boldness and perseverance will be needed in the war on poverty. Our sociologists and economists have observed that poverty is inherited through social genes, and that poverty and poor education do go together. They have further observed that (as of 1961) the median income of those who had had less than eight years of schooling was $3,279 (considerably less for Negroes), for those who got through high school it was $6,302, and for recipients of higher education it was $9,264. But the equation of schooling with earning power leaves out complicated questions—such as, why did schooling stop for some and not for others? The first battles in the war on poverty will not bring the sudden end of dropouts, delinquency, narcotics addiction, unemployment—the newsworthy aspects of destitution. To continue the war will be to fly in the face of *apparent* failure for years, perhaps decades, perhaps generations. Yet still, bearing in mind the alternatives, it must be fought.

4. *At the beginning, programs will have to be somewhat "success-oriented."* Among the poor a large majority are (in relative terms) healthy. In a given slum, where twenty percent may

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use narcotics, four fifths do not; where thirty percent of the children may have been born out of wedlock, seven tenths are legitimate. In its first round C.P.I. has deliberately concentrated on the majorities who have the best chance, once helped, of helping themselves, and in Prince Edward County the Free School devoted special efforts to potential college candidates. Thus visible and quick successes could be achieved—although at the same time, since, at least with C.P.I., the so-called hard core was not the *first* target for treatment, the apparent failures suggested above did attract sharp words from alarmists: "You're staying away from the tough nuts." C.P.I. had one actual failure, where a tough nut simply would not crack: a program invitingly called JET (Joint Education and Training), which was designed to motivate forty of the most alienated and disruptive junior high school students, did not produce the tractability for which some had hoped, and had to be sharply modified. At the healthier end of the spectrum, however, results have often been rapid and dramatic, and the long-range hope would be that the example of such successes might make the hard core more amenable to treatment. As one of the C.P.I. staff said, when challenged on the matter of success-orientation, "How do you unwind a ball of string? Do you start at the center?"

5. *New coalitions will be needed.* The mounting of a truly comprehensive attack requires an unprecedented combination of powers. The triumph of C.P.I. has been the achievement in New Haven of a never-seen-before coalition. Starting with the politicians, who in this instance happened to be out in front, C.P.I. brought together not only New Haven's School Board, its Redevelopment Agency, and its Community Council of social welfare agencies, but also the city's business leadership, its unions, its churches, its civil rights leaders and its offices of state and Federal agencies—indeed every one of the forces within the city that were in any way concerned with the solution of social problems. It is clear that the old-fashioned eleemosynary fronts, the familiar do-gooding citizens' committees, and even the classic educational lobbies are not equal to this new challenge. Such a warhorse as the New York State Educational Conference Board, which for a quar-

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ter of a century was able to push educational bills through the Albany legislature, shows signs of needing new blood if it is to help fight this war. The new combinations for this struggle must be alliances of true powers: business, labor, political parties, the hard-to-combine welfare and civil rights groups—*and* the schools.

6. *New educational techniques are needed.* The triumph of the Prince Edward County experiment, on the other hand, has been its technical freedom. There is no use in massing the political energies of a community for effective action, only to bring to bear in the end stale, timid and inappropriate educational methods. Sullivan's "compatible groups," team teaching, and flexible scheduling, his being able to bring the expansive air of the wealthy suburb to a school for deprived Negroes, yet without imposing white middle-class standards, his being unhampered by deadhead rules of accreditation or by the jealous and self-interested niggling of teachers' organizations—all these were partly made possible by the fact that his was in truth a free private academy; but let it not be forgotten that his was also a remarkably free public spirit. This freedom absolutely must blow across any program with the pretension of "solving" poverty.

7. *Education itself will have to be regarded as training.* The end product of a school-centered anti-poverty program must be either (1) a job, or (2) further education that can lead to a better job; and one of these must be clearly visible ahead to the child from his earliest years in the classroom. In such case middle-class distinctions between education and training disappear, and for the deprived student schooling gains dignity and urgency and loses only its factor of incarceration. The skill of reading, for instance, can be seen from the start as a real work skill. The C.P.I. employment program is not simply a placement service; C.P.I. has involved the entire complex of schools, employers, unions, training facilities and employment agents in a single process, in which, at the far end, actual job openings are discovered and developed and candidates are then prepared for specific jobs. The schools have used ingenious devices to keep students from dropping out, not simply in order to delay their eruption onto the labor market but to help them to see that schooling can earn better jobs. In a ninth-

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grade work-study program at Bassett Junior High School, a number of boys and girls seen as dropout risks studied part time and worked part time, as school-custodial, grounds-maintenance, office and cafeteria personnel, learning marketable skills—such as, for boys, painting, glazing, landscaping, furniture repairing, supply-room clerking. At first the C.P.I. planners feared that the work-study crews might lose status with their classmates. The opposite happened; three months after the program started there were eighty-six students on the work-study waiting list. C.P.I. has enlisted older youths, who actually have dropped out of school, in work crews employed by the Parks and Recreation Department and by various voluntary agencies; these crews are enrolled in basic-education programs which are, in effect, schools outside school. Most important of all has been C.P.I.'s grasp of the fact that large numbers of jobs are available, or can be developed, in the so-called "middle skills"—of oil-burner, television and air-conditioner servicemen; X-ray and laboratory technicians; operators of data-processing and duplicating machinery; culinary workers; cashier-checkout clerks; industrial draftsmen; and so on. Prevocational and pretechnical programs have been introduced in the high schools, and skill-training programs have been conducted outside them. And crowning this process, in many cases—giving education a new meaning for deprived and alienated youth—has been employment itself.

8. *Vocational training needs revamping.* If the concept of education *as* training—for jobs, for life—is accepted, then the traditional vocational school badly needs to be overhauled. It has been, for the most part, the junkyard of public schooling; it has served as a place of detention for those who could not make it academically—who fell out, that is, on the basis of aptitude and achievement tests keyed to the standards of the white, upper-middle, college-educated segment of society. Most vocational schools have offered these rejects cursory and generalized training in "home economics" and in the obsolete skills of an earlier day. (This happens not to be the case in Connecticut, where state vocational schools are uniquely so elite that many of those who need the training most cannot gain admission.) At any rate, C.P.I.'s work

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in the area of middle skills, where the needs of the economy are expanding rapidly, points at least one direction in which work-training, as a dignified part of public schooling, might go.

9. *Due regard must be given to the alienation of those who have suffered poverty and rejection.* Dr. Sullivan speaks of his Prince Edward children, after four years of abandonment by society, as having been "subdued by their physical isolation," and having "lost the ability to communicate." One cannot assume that such children will respond with sudden thirst for learning to textbooks that mirror prosperous white suburban life. Youth of the "inner cities"—one of the euphemisms of the anti-poverty lexicon, meaning slums, or ghettos—may not regard jobs as desirable at all; their nihilism is often thick, tough and durable. For these reasons teachers in anti-poverty programs may have to be thoroughly retrained, and indeed a new attitude toward the basic curriculum and the very goals of education may be needed. An irony, and paradoxically a hopeful one, is that many young white students, who feel alienated from the values of their own older generation, are eager to find themselves by identifying with the outcasts of our society; they volunteer to go among them, as social workers, teachers and civil rights pioneers. Although some of these young people may seem to be babes in the wood, and although C.P.I.'s experience reminds us that a very adult "realism" is an everlasting need in the war on poverty—nevertheless, these young refugees from the middle class, with their domestic-peace-corps impulse, may have precisely the right kinds of idealism and insights to break through the alienation of the awfully poor. Both the Prince Edward Free School and C.P.I. have made good use of such volunteers to this end.

10. *As far as possible, the poor themselves should be involved in the planning and execution of these programs.* Nothing can help so much to dissipate the suspicion and apathy of the poor, *vis-à-vis* these efforts on their behalf, as for them to see that some of their own kind are actively engaged in the work. C.P.I. has found this type of enlistment most difficult to carry through but most productive where it has been. Each of C.P.I.'s neighborhood coordinators has, as assistants, indigenous people, not necessarily

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trained social workers but simply those who have asserted leadership in the neighborhoods, perhaps through P.T.A.'s or athletic programs or churches. Sviridoff feels that C.P.I. should be doing more along this line than it has so far been able to do.

11. *There will be need for searching self-examination on the part of institutions as they become involved in this war.* Particularly will this be true of the traditional social services, whose workers often suffer from a guild complex: they have joined together in an understanding that there are certain "correct" ways to deal with the poor, and that newcomers who favor "incorrect" ways should not be allowed to elbow their elders aside. The best of the social workers, however, know that health-and-welfare services can ease the suffering caused by poverty but cannot remove the underlying causes. On the local scene the labor movement, particularly in its craft unions, which were founded on the principle of exclusion, too often takes the position: "Are we to educate and train more people so we can have more trained, skilled and unemployed people?" C.P.I. has had some success in persuading local unions that a creative effort in the war on poverty serves their own best interests.

12. *It must be faced that the places where it will be hardest to mount programs will be precisely the places where they are needed most.* The ball-of-string principle—success first—cannot apply when it comes to geographical distribution of these programs, for poverty is distributed unevenly and in varying intensities through the United States, and sharp human needs ride hard alongside the statistical loadings. After a recent visit to Africa, Walter Reuther pointed out that the per capita income in Tanganyika is $55 a year, but that poverty in Tanganyika is less destructive of human values than is poverty in the United States, where the isolated poor, although rich by Tanganyikan standards, do not feel they belong to their own society. Here, poor education and poor people go hand in hand; in a recent report on rejections from the draft into the armed services, the best state was shown to have had only three percent of its young men turned away because of educational deficiencies, while in one Southern state the rejections came to sixty-seven percent. The latter state cannot wait

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to get an anti-poverty drive until there have been successes in the former. No single city of the first magnitude has yet undertaken a successful poverty program, and with the single exception of North Carolina, no Southern state has yet lifted a finger. New Haven and Prince Edward County are, in differing ways, special cases; so much greater, then, is the urgency where the cases seem not to be special.

13. *At odds with this urgency is the theorem that enlightened and continuing political leadership is a prerequisite for an anti-poverty program.* From the beginning an essential ingredient in C.P.I.'s accomplishments has been the vision of Mayor Lee, and North Carolina's educational progress, unique in the South, has owed nearly everything to that state's astonishing Governor, Terry Sanford. Until truly dynamic leadership manifests itself in the great cities, such as New York, Chicago, Detroit and Los Angeles, it is hard to imagine that significant anti-poverty programs will develop there; and the vacuum of leadership for this fight in most of the South is all too obvious. Only Federal leadership—of an order far beyond mere vote-reaping—can perhaps compensate for these local lacks.

14. *It cannot be assumed yet, however, that Federal leadership, at least in terms of Federal aid to education and for manpower training, will be more than piecemeal.* The pattern of Federal aid is set, and this pattern is one of categorical aid—grants for specific categories of education and training—rather than of general, across-the-board grants. For the struggle against poverty this may prove to have been a good thing, because the categorical approach permits flexibility in early stages; the tentative explorations of the first Johnson anti-poverty bill may open the way to the truly massive and comprehensive program that is needed. The possibilities of waste in this war, as in every other, are appalling, and the problem of finding troops competent to wage it will be simply staggering. It is to be hoped that the lessons of benign reconaissances like those in Prince Edward County and in New Haven will be brought to bear in Washington, for it is now clear that this great conflict is inevitable; it is one that the Republicans, equally with the Democrats, will have to face in some form. This is one war that had better be wisely fought.

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Lines for a President

ROBERT WATSON

The Inauguration and Shortly After

You could not stop the snow the sky dumped down,
The cold, the lectern smoking when the priest
Invoked the Lord. Did the Lord in answer jab
Your poet blind? Was that your high silk hat
They held against the sun for Robert Frost?
And still he could not see his words for you.
Coatless, then, as if winter were not here
You blow cold words, your hand chops air.

Your wife's French chef breaks skulls
Of eggs. Upstairs her dresser
Gardens in her hair.
A maid brings scented pearls,
The world of Louis and Molière,
Her conquest of Versailles
And Athens. Downstairs
You praise the Spartans.

At the Funeral

Let all those who would stop a war
Sit in a chair and rock
And stare at a woman with flowered hair;
Have her chef prepare
A banquet for all the heads of state:
Let them advance between the Spartan guards,

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And past the priest and past the poet.
Let the music play, have them dance,
And rocking in your rocking chair,
Point to a state of possibility:
The fragile arts of peace
Shatter the weather of war.

Now six grey horses draw you to where you are,
Not to Versailles, Sparta, or Athens.
The seventh horse is wild and black
And riderless and paws the streets of Washington
Where you are rocking and will always rock.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy,
You could not stop the shells,
The drowning of your boat in war;
You could not stop the snow the sky dumped down,
The cold, the lectern smoking when your priest invoked
The Lord, your poet struck blind, the bullets in your head,
The six grey horses drawing you to where you are
Rocking and will always rock.

The seventh horse is riderless, wild and black.

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Man Thinking About Man

JAMES B. CONANT

THE COMMENCEMENT MEETING of the Harvard Chapter of Phi Beta Kappa was made famous more than a century ago by the oration delivered by Ralph Waldo Emerson. He took as his topic one that he said "not only usage but the nature of our association" seemed to prescribe, namely "the AMERICAN SCHOLAR." In the course of his address he pronounced a judgment that was far from flattering to his American contemporaries. "We have listened too long to the courtly muses of Europe," he declared, and added, "The spirit of the American freeman is already suspected to be timid, imitative, tame. . . . The scholar is decent, indolent, complaisant. See already the tragic consequence. The mind of this country, taught to aim at low objects, eats upon itself." Coupled with this unfavorable appraisal of the United States in 1837, was the bold statement, often quoted, that "confidence in the unsearched might of man belongs, by all motives, by all prophecy, by all preparation, to the American Scholar." And he left no doubt in the minds of his audience as to what he meant by the word "scholar." For the whole oration is concerned with developing his conception of the role of the scholar as the "delegated intellect." "In the right state," he said, "he is *Man Thinking*. In the degenerate state, when the victim of society, he tends to become a mere thinker, or still worse, the parrot of other men's thinking. In this view of him, as Man Thinking," he continued, "the theory of his office is contained. Him Nature solicits with all her placid, all her monitory pictures; him the past instructs; him the future invites."

As one reads Emerson's oration today, one wonders just what

✪ This examination of the realm of scholarship by JAMES B. CONANT, former president of Harvard University, was delivered as the Phi Beta Kappa Oration at Harvard on June 9, 1964. Dr. Conant's views on two modes of thought are amplified in his book of that title which was recently published by the Trident Press as one of the Credo Series volumes.

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the word "nature" conveyed to the members of the audience assembled in Cambridge on that August day of 1837. They were told by the orator that of the influences upon the mind of the scholar, "the first in time and the first in importance" is that of nature. (The influences of second and third importance were books and action.) They were further told that the laws of nature are the laws of the scholar's own mind. "The astronomer discovers that geometry, a pure abstraction of the human mind, is the measure of planetary motion. The chemist finds proportions and intelligible method throughout matter; and science is nothing but the finding of analogy, identity, in the most remote parts." One is permitted to question how many of the listeners to those words agreed with the theory of knowledge implied by these and similar statements about the relation of mind to matter—a philosophic standpoint probably derived from Fichte and not unrelated to the tradition developed in Cambridge in the days of Peirce and James, a tradition that is still active.

But I do not want to discuss now Emerson's philosophic views. Rather I want to point out how his view of nature and that of his contemporaries was in part the same as ours and in part quite different. In 1837 the Western world was already well advanced into the age of natural science and technology. An astronomy based on Newton's laws of motion had become commonplace many generations earlier; the chemists' atomic theory was rapidly developing into an atomic theory of matter; the steam engine as a stationary source of power had made the industrial revolution in England possible before Emerson was born; in his time the same motive power was starting to revolutionize transportation by land and water. As compared with the physics, chemistry and astronomy of 1964, primitive science, you may say; as compared with all the applications of the electric current, of the use of electromagnetic waves, of airplanes and space travel, primitive engineering. Granted. Yet I am prepared to maintain, at least at this moment, that as far as the physical sciences and technology are concerned, what we know and can do, today, may be justifiably regarded merely as an extrapolation of the science and technology of the 1830's. Not so in biology, not so in cosmology, definitely not so in

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the sciences of anthropology and psychology. In short, what has altered radically since Emerson spoke is our view of man as a part of nature.

In 1837 no fossil remains of man had been discovered; stone implements and other evidences of a long childhood of the human race had not been uncovered. The idea of glacial action was just dawning and there was no conception of the tremendous periods of time involved in the transformations of the earth crust. All that is implied by the word "evolution" was unsuspected by the scholars of Emerson's generation. Darwin's first book was published in 1859. Indeed, only within recent years has the science of genetics so advanced that one can say that Darwin's ideas are now on so solid a basis as to be regarded as part of our scientific knowledge. The labors of biologists, geologists, archeologists and anthropologists have converged to give us a picture of our ancestry that no one dreamed of in 1837.

Consider the following statement recently published by internationally famous scholars (Jacquetta Hawkes and Sir Leonard Woolley in the introduction to their *History of Mankind, Volume I,* New York, 1963):

> Whatever view one takes of the means and meaning of evolution, it must now be impossible to doubt that it took place. It is still possible to doubt the orthodox view that the sole agency of change and development in life was natural selection working together with sudden spurts, or mutations, in the organisms; it is possible to believe that these factors only affected the fringes of some process too tremendous for us, its mere products, to comprehend. It may be, too, that the nature of the "time" in which the process took place is something equally beyond our full comprehension. But the fact that the human stock grew from a creature that walked upright and was ancestral to ourselves and the great apes cannot be denied. Nor that this creature in turn sprang from keen-eyed, deft-footed tarsiers and they again from the little tree shrews that, biding their time, peeped through the shiny leaves at the great dinosaurs and other condemned reptiles of the Cretaceous Age. From there it is no more than a mental stone's throw back by way of the amphibians and fishes to life itself generating between Sun and Earth.
>
> What it will prove most important to remember is that our species did not only inherit from the past its bodily equipment, dominated by its subtly elaborated brain, but also highly charged emotional centres

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and all the strange ancient furniture of the unconscious mind. Man emerged bringing with him hate, fear and anger, together with love and the joy of life in their simple animal form. He also brought the social heritage of family affection and group loyalty. Today some of us believe (while others do not) that among the most elusive and yet the most precious heirlooms of all were shadowy, deep-seated memories of the experience of the evolving animal line during the vast stretches of its history, memories which enrich and unite modern men by throwing up from the unconscious the images and ideas that inspire our arts and help to make them universally evocative.

The same authors go on to point out that the first beings that one can recognize as human had to contend with a world climate that was violently affected by intermittent phases of great cold when glaciers and ice sheets spread down from the polar ice caps. Our ancestors who were the first toolmakers were subjected for a period of over 500,000 years to environmental influences that must have largely determined the fate of the different species of men who were then competing for dominance. Half a million years may be reckoned as twenty-five thousand generations perhaps, a long period compared to the approximately five hundred generations since the beginning of the first agricultural communities and the start of true civilization. Mankind has had an ancestry that we can trace today by means of methods of which Emerson's contemporaries never dreamed.

When we turn from our present views about mankind's past to a consideration of what we now know about man's behavior and the relation of his unconscious desires to this behavior, we enter a realm of scholarship whose very existence was unimagined not only a hundred and twenty-seven years ago but seventy or eighty years ago. Freud was born in 1856, Pavlov in 1849. To be sure, psychology as an applied science is often said to be even today at the same stage of advancement as were the medical sciences before Pasteur. Yet our scientific knowledge of man, his past and his present, has already had a far more revolutionary impact on the task of Emerson's scholar than the discoveries in the physical sciences since his day. The fields of scholarly inquiry have been vastly expanded, and the new ideas have had profound effects on those who worked along the older lines. The end is not in sight. Quite

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the contrary: unless I am much mistaken, the full impact of the consequences of Man thinking about Man as a part of nature has not yet been felt.

I have been using the word scholar in the widest sense to include all the activities of man thinking in what we today call the natural sciences, the social sciences and the humanities. Cutting across these conventional classifications of science and scholarship, there is another way of regarding intellectual activity. I like to speak of two modes of thought. One is typical of the natural scientist in his laboratory, the inventor, the explorer, the archeologist, the classifier. The other is typical of the logician, the mathematician, the legal scholar, the philosopher concerned with ethical and religious problems. As I read the history of human thought, I seem to detect two different types of temperaments that have made great contributions to what we call the advance of knowledge. Only rarely can one identify the two temperaments in a single individual. If one stops to think of the development of our present ideas about the material universe, it is obvious that imaginative, industrious men of both types have played their part. Today, in physics we speak of the theoretical physicist, and the names of Einstein and Bohr come to mind; we speak of the experimental physicist, exemplied by Rutherford. It is characteristic of the natural sciences in the mid-twentieth century that individuals committed to the one mode of thought or to the other have for years worked harmoniously together. Closely related is the fact that there is no clear-cut distinction between pure and applied science —at least not in the United States. The academic snobbery that once placed the pure scientist on a pedestal has all but disappeared.

When we turn to the writings of those concerned with human problems, the distinction I have made between two modes of thought is seen to correspond to present rather sharp dividing lines of scholarly activity. Anthropologists, psychologists, sociologists are thinking in terms not unlike those of experimental natural scientists. Legal scholars, theologians, philosophers, literary scholars, on the other hand, represent the other type of temperament— the temperament also of the mathematician and the theoretical physicist. These scholars for the most part start from premises

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about human nature that Emerson would have understood. The radical thinking about man has come from the other group; it is the ideas they are in the process of producing that have not yet been assimilated by the entire scholarly world. When they are, or perhaps I should say, if they are, one may expect consequences that will affect the lives of many people. The scholar concerned with man has never been far removed from the possibility of large-scale effects produced by his writings. John Calvin and Karl Marx are two examples; neither of whom, I need hardly say, were operating in what I have called the mode of thought characteristic of the experimentalist or the explorer.

One of the characteristics of the experimental mode of thought is the readiness to accept all generalizations as provisional, as subject to change as new consequences are discovered. The characteristic of the other mode is the acceptance of premises that are regarded as essentially immutable for one reason or another. The exploration of these reasons and the tracing of the deductions from allegedly self-evident truths constitute one field of activity of the scholar concerned with man. One may argue that this type of scholarly activity is no longer called for, that it will and should disappear. Certainly the limits of its acceptance have been narrowed, as the experimental mode produces more and more knowledge about human behavior. As to the possibility of its total disappearance, I have grave doubts. I am sure today and for the foreseeable future there is important scholarly work to be done by those who temperamentally turn to the older nonexperimental mode of thought.

Professor Morton White has recently written in *Paths of American Thought:*

> The problem of defining the scope of science has been more fundamental and more persistent than almost any other problem of philosophy. Is the method of checking statements by observation and experiment the only method of achieving knowledge of the truth, or are there others? Are there disciplines which validly arrive at truth by means fundamentally different from those used in empirical science? Is there such a thing as knowledge of the truth which may be reached without recourse to experience? Like their European predecessors and contemporaries, American philosophers have struggled with these ques-

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tions, and like European philosophers they have offered no one answer to them. Neither American philosophy as a whole, nor pragmatism, the most distinctive American philosophical movement, has described the scope of science in a uniform manner. . . .

. . . Nineteenth-century America, so unsuccessful in producing scientific thinkers of the first rank, did give to the world three of science's loudest cheerleaders. In fact, so loudly did they cheer that they did much to encourage the erroneous view that all pragmatists worship at the altar of something called "scientism" and believe that one scientific method rules as a god over all branches of human thought.

And yet, if one conceives of pragmatism as the doctrine originated by Peirce, popularized by James, applied by Dewey, and more recently refined by C. I. Lewis and W. V. Quine, one may safely say that whereas some pragmatists may believe that one and the same scientific method is applicable in all spheres of intellectual activity, other self-styled pragmatists do not.

Professor White then sums up the situation as follows:

Peirce seemed to exempt the statements of ontology from the need to follow the pragmatic maxim. James seemed to exempt the statements of theology. Lewis unquestionably exempted those ethical statements in which we assert that actions are right or wrong. And while Dewey professed to apply the canons of experimental science to all claims to knowledge, he seems at places to have fallen unwittingly into a variety of dualism. Quine is monistic in his approach to mathematics, logic, physics, and ontology, but through lack of interest fails to commit himself on ethics and theology. In short, no one of these five distinguished American pragmatists has seriously subscribed to the view that all statements by means of which men take themselves to express knowledge may be justified by the techniques commonly associated with experimental science.

For my own part I find myself continually falling into the dualism of which Professor White speaks. To me Quine's arguments for monism in his *From a Logical Point of View,* are convincing. He writes, "The totality of our so-called knowledge or beliefs, from the most casual matters of geography and history to the profoundest laws of atomic physics or even of pure mathematics and logic, is a man-made fabric which impinges on experience only along the edges." I am quite ready to subscribe to the doctrine that *logically* all statements are on the same basis. I am further ready to agree that logically the "total field [of knowledge] is so under-

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determined by its boundary conditions, experience, that there is much latitude of choice as to what statements to re-evaluate in the light of any single contrary experience." Professor White has remarked that "there is no doubt that the principles of logic are less frequently challenged than those of ethics and those of ethics less frequently challenged within a given culture than are those of physics." I conceive a whole spectrum of concepts and generalizations differing one from another only in the degree of assurance with which one was willing to bet on the universal acceptance of the statement, say, a century hence. The spectrum would be a personal affair, although people with similar education and professional aims would be inclined to develop similar spectra.

Compare the judge and the engineer. The judge in European code law nations would be loath to concede that the basic principles of his law would be radically altered by the labors of scholars within the foreseeable future in such a way that a vast majority of his associates would accept the change. The engineer, on the other hand, recognizes that within the last fifty years Newtonian physics has been so extended as to make invalid some of the assumptions of 1900. He would therefore rather expect that the sciences on which his work is largely based might alter in the next fifty years.

When we leave the basic premises of a profession aside and turn to the field of ethical principles, it seems clear that an individual in his daily life requires the acceptance of at least a few principles that he regards in a light quite different from that in which an experimental scientist is alleged to regard his scientific theories. If so, then the formulation and reformulation of such principles is the task of a scholar operating in the nonexperimental mode of thought.

The great religious systems of the world are systems which include generalizations that may be formulated in terms of what a person ought to do. Saints and prophets have thus approached the problems of human behavior from a nonexperimental standpoint. The Judaic-Christian tradition as it has developed to the present day, quite apart from metaphysical and theological considerations, includes wide generalizations which almost all of us

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accept as a matter of course. Let me call them wide premises of our cultural pattern. From them one can try to deduce, by a chain of logical reasoning, consequences applicable to specific situations. For a vast number of people a determination of what they think people ought to do is arrived at in this manner. The legal norms that professors of law discuss would seem to fall into the same category as the other wide premises from which people tend to argue deductively when they speak in ethical terms.

One example of a comprehensive theoretical frame of reference is the official dogma of Communism generally known as dialectical materialism. Here, as has been pointed out by many people, we find a religion without a theology and without reference to supernatural events or sanctions. Here is a system that rejoices the heart of those who incline to the nonexperimental approach to human problems, but who repudiate the Judaic-Christian tradition. As Professor Michael Polanyi has pointed out in his brilliant essay on "The Magic of Marxism," the assertions of the high priests of communism are accepted because they claim to satisfy certain moral passions and are alleged to be scientific.

> The propagandistic appeal of Marxism is the most interesting case of what might be called the moral force of immorality. For it is the most precisely formulated system having such a paradoxical appeal and this self-contradiction actually seems to supply the main impulse of the Marxian movement . . . it enables the modern mind, tortured by moral self-doubt, to indulge its moral passions in terms which also satisfy its passion for ruthless objectivity.

Thus, it is a combination of the crusading zeal of the nineteenth-century liberals with the demands for certainty in a science of society that have eventuated in Communistic dogmas. It is important to note, first, that the interpretation of these dogmas can lead to charges of heresy and, second, that they were originally formulated by Marx and Engels at a time when the knowledge derived from the study of man as a part of nature was just beginning and the influence of Hegel was strong. Although dialectical materialism claims to be scientific, its attitude toward science is dated about 1880.

During the past hundred years, the world of scholarship has

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witnessed the interaction of the two ways of thinking about man and nature. The first phase of this new interaction was characterized by a selective acceptance of parts of the new biology and anthropology by men who were developing their own nonexperimental set of general principles—principles that they wished to support by an appeal to new ideas in the field of science.

The first example is relatively trivial, the second far from so. Herbert Spencer's evolutionary philosophy might have been formulated without Darwin's work. But it would certainly not have been so widely acclaimed if the great naturalist had not formulated his theories and supported them with a mass of evidence. Spencer's writings might be quoted as a misuse of the first new views of a rapidly emerging branch of biology—a misuse to support an ambitious total philosophic scheme whose influence on men's actions is now hard to trace. My second example is a case of the use of alleged new scientific findings in anthropology to support a doctrine that can be regarded as a manifestation of the age-old tendency to intolerance, so often carried to brutal lengths. I refer, of course, to the racial theory that was basic to the ideology of the Nazis. The story included anti-semitism, which has a long history, but it was far more than anti-semitism. It proclaimed two alleged scientific concepts. First, that the words "Nordic race" had a meaning; second, that members of this race were superior to all other people. To recount the practical application of this doctrine in the wake of Hitler's conquering armies as they moved east, would be to recount a tale of horror unequaled in the long, crowded history of man's inhumanity to man. The story is now well known but what is often not remembered is the role of pseudoscholarship in supporting the Nazi doctrine. The Jews had been persecuted in Europe for centuries. The justification for the intolerance—in so far as it had a scholarly justification—was in religious terms. What was new in Germany was the shift to an anthropological basis, an invoking of the new science of man to forward a political dogma. The difficulty of combatting this pseudoscience in scientific terms in the 1930's illustrates the type of problem the scholar meets as he seeks to advance knowledge in these new fields.

Doctrinal intolerance based on the writings of Marx and Engels

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has been and still is oppressive in large areas of the world. Racial intolerance in one of its most virulent forms, nazism, has disappeared. But no American citizen can without hypocrisy boast of the record of his own nation. To be sure, doctrinal intolerance has been relatively mild in its manifestations in the course of the history of the United States as a nation. One might say tolerance, regarding doctrine, was one of the principles of the founding fathers. Racial intolerance in one of its worst forms, human slavery, was on the other hand accepted by the makers of the United States Constitution and was defended by many American scholars for a long period of time. To the degree that their arguments were rational, they were based on a prescientific set of anthropological premises as is made evident by the words of a majority of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott decision.

A civil war abolished slavery, but the pseudoscientific arguments for racial intolerance have by no means disappeared. They dominated the thinking of almost all Americans during the long years when we allowed a closed class system based on color to develop in the former Confederate States. We are now paying a heavy price for our failure as a nation to face the problem presented at the end of the Civil War. The blame for the neglect rests on the shoulders of all white citizens, North and South.

The new knowledge about man was distorted by the Nazis to support their doctrine of racial intolerance. Can the advancing knowledge of man be used to assist in the mitigation of the present intolerable situation of the Negro in the United States? One would like to think so, but for this to happen a fruitful collaboration would seem to be required between the men thinking in the two modes of thought. The older tradition of the scholars must take up the new knowledge about man. If this can be done, one might hope not only for more rapid progress in reducing the intensity of that intolerance that is based on racial grounds, but also a lowering of the barrier of intolerance that now surrounds the world of communist thinkers. In short, one would hope that there would emerge a true world community of scholars.

I must confess that this is not the first time I have expressed such hopes in connection with Emerson's eloquent words about

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the American scholar. In welcoming the delegates to Harvard's Tercentenary Celebration in 1936, I quoted Emerson's famous phrase that "the scholar is that man who must take up into himself all the ability of the time, all the contributions of the past, all the hopes of the future"—splendid words, expressing noble sentiments most appropriate to a gathering of scholars from many countries. And to emphasize the international aspects of the Tercentenary program of lectures and of meetings, I said that while Emerson had been speaking of the *American* scholar, "in this troubled century the burden is to be borne not by one individual or by one group but by those who live in many lands. Not *the* scholar," I continued, "but the community of scholars must take up all the ability of the time, all the contributions of the past." And I added, "The spirit of man must be held aloft by sturdy hands of every race." With the eyes of the world on the Nazi regime which had been in power for three and a half years, no one among the delegates failed to realize why I had used the words "of every race." Today, the same words carry quite another connotation and one that is no less serious for this nation, indeed for the entire world.

Looking back to 1936, few will challenge my use of the words "this troubled century." Indeed, some may say we little knew in that pre-World War II period what trouble really meant. My call for a community of scholars, however, may seem far too optimistic. For the world is deeply divided on ideological lines, and in just those new fields of advancing knowledge about man, the communications between the two areas of thought are few and far between. But I remain unrepentant, nonetheless. The potentialities of the social sciences are too great to be confined by dogmas created by two mid-nineteenth century men who knew little of the new sciences of man. If I am right, Emerson's call for the independence of the American scholar should, today, be replaced by a plea for understanding among a multitude of scholars in every nation. It is the members of a tolerant international community of thinkers who must take up into themselves "all the hopes of the future." Man thinking about man as a part of nature for the benefit of *all* mankind, such is the scholar this and the next century demand!

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The Crime Tariff

HERBERT L. PACKER

> Tariff—A schedule, system, or scheme of duties imposed by a government on goods imported or exported. . . . A tariff may be imposed . . . for the artificial fostering of home industries (*protective tariff*) . . .
>
> —*Webster's New International Dictionary,* Second Edition

ECONOMISTS TELL US that protective tariffs are uneconomic because they get in the way of the optimal allocation of resources that a free market is supposed to bring about. Protective tariffs have a bad name but they continue to flourish, mainly because claims advanced in their behalf have considerable appeal to lawmakers. Some say that the appeal is essentially one of money and votes; the high-minded (or the committed) say that it is the health of the internal economy or, more fashionably these days, the demands of national defense. Whatever the basis really is, the protection of textiles, bicycles, watches, cheese or what-have-you is always justified by the claim that it is desirable public policy to protect the commodity in question from the rigors of competition. Competition is good, but cheese is better, especially if it comes from Wisconsin.

Cheese is better, perhaps so. But are narcotics better? Is gambling better? Are abortions performed by terrified amateurs better? We do not ordinarily think of these blights as commodities protected by a tariff but it is easy to demonstrate that they are just that. The tariff in question is the criminal law or, more precisely, the particular criminal statutes that make it illegal to do such things as traffic in narcotics, run a gambling enterprise, or perform abortions on pregnant women who don't want to have children. Of course,

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no one designed criminal enactments such as these to operate as a tariff. The object is not to enhance the profits of entrepreneurs in these particular lines of commerce by protecting them from competition. Indeed, no one thinks of these activities as being lines of commerce. On the contrary, they are evil, immoral, antisocial, deviant, sick—choose your own epithet. They are made criminal so that they may be repressed. As every schoolboy knows, we declare particular kinds of conduct to be criminal and back the declaration up by threatening and, occasionally, inflicting punishment in order to prevent or at least reduce their incidence. That is far from providing a protective tariff; just the opposite, or so we think. But there is a common feature of some oddly disparate kinds of conduct covered by our criminal law that produces quite a different effect from that intended—a side effect, it is true, but still one that is strangely at war with the ostensible purpose. The common feature is, very simply, that the conduct in question, whatever else it may be and however heinous we may think it, is traffic in a line of commerce.

Commerce involves transactions between willing buyers and willing sellers, each of whom gets what he wants from the deal. By making conduct that answers to this description criminal, what we are in effect doing is to limit the supply of the commodity in question by increasing the risk to the seller, thereby driving up the price of what he sells. It may be suggested that driving up the price is just what we want to do: make it so expensive to buy narcotics, for example, that people will stop buying them. As we know from current experience, it doesn't work that way. People go on buying narcotics, even if they have to steal money to pay the price. Economic theory explains this phenomenon by introducing the concept of elasticity of demand. It is only when the demand is quite elastic that increases in price will reduce the amount demanded. People who are willing to pay two thousand dollars for a car will not ordinarily want the same car if its price is suddenly doubled. But when the demand is inelastic, when the commodity is something that people want so badly that they will pay almost any price to get it, if its sale is illegal, the crime tariff goes into operation. Regardless of what we think we are trying to do, if we make it

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illegal to traffic in commodities for which there is an inelastic demand, the actual effect is to secure a kind of monopoly profit to the entrepreneur who is willing to break the law. In effect, we say to him: "We shall set up a barrier to entry into this line of commerce by making it illegal and, therefore, risky; if you are willing to take the risk you will be sheltered from the competition of those who are unwilling to do so. Of course, if we catch you, you may possibly (although not necessarily) be put out of business; but meanwhile you are free to gather the fruits that grow in the hothouse atmosphere we are providing for you."

The "noble experiment" of Prohibition was a classic example of the operation of the crime tariff. Traffic in liquor became the monopoly of the lawbreakers, who proceeded to earn enormous monopoly profits and, behind the protective wall of the crime tariff on liquor, to build criminal organizations that could rapidly take advantage of whatever other crime tariffs with which we were willing to oblige them. With the disappearance of the crime tariff on liquor, a similarly profitable traffic in narcotics developed. The tariff is very high; we make it so hard on narcotics offenders that only the boldest venture into the field. It is far from clear that we have appreciably reduced the total supply of narcotics coming into the country. What we have done is to channel the business into fewer and fewer hands (if the Narcotics Bureau and the F.B.I. are to be believed) and driven the price of the commodity to giddy new heights.

Opinions vary on what the effects would be if all controls on the sale of narcotics were removed overnight (a step, be it said, that lies outside the realm of the politically possible). One highly placed policeman of my acquaintance asserts that the addiction rate would show an immediate increase. A psychiatrist retorts that if narcotics become easily procurable addiction will lose much of its allure. Who is to say which of them is right? By contrast, the economic effect of such a change is clearly predictable, if economics has anything to teach us at all. With the disappearance of controls the price of narcotics would plummet and the financial ruin of the present illegal suppliers would quickly ensue.

The case of narcotics is not unique. Consider, for example, the

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problem of abortions. By and large, it is illegal to perform an abortion in this country unless continuation of the pregnancy would be fatal to the mother. Comparatively few abortions are openly performed by reputable doctors in reputable hospitals on that ground or, by an extension of dubious legality, on the ground that the woman's mental health will be gravely impaired if she is forced to bear and raise a child. A much larger number of abortions —estimates range as high as one million per year—are clandestinely performed, with the knowledge that if they come to the attention of the police, arrest, conviction and imprisonment will very likely follow. Not many do come to the attention of the police, of course. It is doubtful whether the arrest rate is as high as one per thousand abortions performed. Aside from sporadic police activity, the main threat to the abortionist is that something will go wrong and the patient (or her survivor) will complain to the authorities. But the threat is there; and it causes the crime tariff to operate. The case is plainly one of a highly inelastic demand. Women (and their husbands and lovers) who want an abortion do not care what the market price is; if they can possibly raise the money they want the commodity regardless of price. Here the anticompetitive effect of the crime tariff operates not only on price but also on service. Since women cannot generally get abortions from those who are in the best position to supply a satisfactory product, the members of the medical profession, they are driven to accept a product of inferior grade and quality from the hole-in-corner abortionist. They buy injury and even death from sellers who would be driven out of the market overnight if they did not have the protection of the crime tariff.

The controversy over the current proposal to legalize off-track betting in New York provides another example of the crime tariff in action. When the Police Commissioner of New York City went on record as favoring the proposal he did so, in effect, on the ground that it would lower the crime tariff. Commissioner Murphy was quoted as making the following points in favor of legal bet shops:

It would aid in reducing the clientele and proceeds of the illegal horse-race bookmaker. It would reduce the flow of illegal gambling cash into

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syndicate-controlled enterprises by siphoning these funds out of the underworld reservoir. It would thus further weaken the racketeer's financial strength and narrow the area of exposure to possible corruption.

Commissioner Murphy went on to say that he didn't expect the proposal to result in any substantial reduction in betting, a forecast with which few would disagree. To the extent that legal bet shops would produce the economic results predicted by the Commissioner, it seems fair to characterize them as a *pro tanto* reduction of the crime tariff on gambling.

So far, we have treated the crime tariff from the buyer's standpoint. It can also be analyzed for its economic effect on the seller. One theory of criminal punishment is based on the prediction that the threat of unpleasant consequences will deter those who would otherwise engage in crime. It will be noticed that the theory is essentially economic in nature, although it is rarely so described. Deterrence theory views human conduct as involving the same kind of rational pursuit of satisfactions implicit in the concept of economic man. On that view, the risk of punishment becomes an offsetting factor that the intending criminal must weigh against the gain he hopes to realize from his criminal conduct. By thus reducing the potential gain, we hope and expect to reduce the incentive to engage in criminal activity. Deterrence works, however, only if the potential gain remains the same when the criminal is successful; the risk of loss diminishes the attraction of the gain, which is a constant. We do not make bank robbery more attractive by punishing the bank robbers whom we manage to catch. The potential gain is unaffected by the offsetting risk of punishment. If murdering one's rich aunt in order to inherit a million dollars from her were legal, we would not increase the potential gain by making it illegal. The stake would still be the same million dollars. Or, to take a more realistic example, if a certain kind of sophisticated stock swindle happens to be legal, making it illegal will not increase the potential gain; the new risk of punishment will make the same old gain seem less attractive than it used to be. Swindlers will be, in a word, deterred.

But this assumption of a constant in potential gain, upon which

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the successful operation of deterrence depends, does not hold for the kind of market transaction we have been examining. Because we are dealing with voluntary commerce in a commodity whose buyers are willing to submit to price increases, as we increase the risk we also increase the potential gain to the seller. The harder we work to make the sale of abortions risky, the higher we drive the price that makes the risk worthwhile. The calculus of pleasure and pain, to put it in Jeremy Bentham's terms, produces an equilibrium at a higher level of price. The theory of deterrence, however useful it may be in the ordinary run of crimes, breaks down. In its place, we get a crime tariff, which operates like any other protective tariff.

Should we have crime tariffs? The question is not one that we are likely to answer by focusing on economic factors alone. Too much else is at stake, especially when we are talking about repealing an existing tariff. Just as debates about the tariff on cheese are unlikely to be resolved by economic arguments about the desirability of free competition in cheese, so is it improbable that any demonstration, however persuasive, that abortions cost more than they need to will carry the day for free competition in abortions.

The argument against the crime tariff is strongest when the proposal is to apply it to a hitherto unprotected commodity. So far, the discussion of legal restrictions on cigarette sales hasn't focused on using the criminal sanction. And not many communities are likely to follow the example of the Texas town that recently made it a crime to sell cigarettes within the municipal limits. But there is a real danger that the lessons that we have had many chances to learn about the crime tariff have not really been learned. Witness, for example, current proposals to extend the same kind of criminal sanctions to traffic in so-called "dangerous drugs"—amphetamines, barbiturates and the like—that we presently employ for narcotics. Whatever the solution to the vexing problems posed by the crime tariffs we now have, it would be the sheerest folly to create new ones.

While it seems clear that proposals for new crime tariffs should be viewed with the greatest skepticism, the question of what to

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do with the ones we have now is more baffling. It would be a hardy legislator who would vote to repeal even the most innocuous of criminal enactments, let alone such emotion-freighted bans as those on narcotics, abortions and (to a lesser extent, because the door is already slightly ajar) gambling. If we could write on a clean slate. . . . . But we cannot with the crime tariff any more than with the tariff on cheese, on bicycles or on watches.

Tariff elimination may be impossibly utopian; tariff reduction is not. Even if we are not prepared to make narcotics freely available to addicts, we should seek intermediate solutions that reduce our unwise reliance on the criminal sanction. Even if we are not prepared to confide the abortion problem to the good judgment of the medical profession, we should expand the grounds on which abortions may be performed. Even if we are not prepared to give up our futile efforts to keep people from gambling, we should be receptive to proposals, like those current in New York, to legalize forms of gambling that cannot be rationally distinguished from forms that are presently legal (the fresh air at racetracks isn't all that good). Measures such as these would all tend to lower crime tariffs. That may not be thought by all to be enough to validate such proposals; it should be enough to get them a fairer hearing than they usually get.

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POEMS

JEAN VALENTINE

Dream Barker

We met for supper in your flat-bottomed boat.
I got there first: in a white dress: I remember
Wondering if you'd come. Then you shot over the bank,
A Virgilian Nigger Jim, and poled us off
To a little seafood barker's cave you knew.

What'll you have? you said. Eels hung down,
Bamboozled claws hung up from the crackling weeds.
The light was all behind us. To one side
In a dish of ice was a shell shaped like a sand dollar,
But worked with Byzantine blue and gold. *What's that?*

Well, that I've never seen before, you said,
And I don't know how it tastes.
Oh well, said I, *if it's bad,*
I'm not too hungry, are you? We'd have the shell . . .
I know just how you feel, you said

And asked for it; we held out our hands.
Six Dollars! barked the barker, *For This Beauty!*
We fell down laughing in your flat-bottomed boat,

And then I woke up: in a white dress:
Dry as a bone on dry land, Jim,
Bone dry, old, in a dry land, Jim, my Jim.

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Riverside

Now, with March forcing our brittle spines, like first
childbirth,
Scattering our notes, making the house cold inside,
Riverside Park turns up its vestiges of God
Where barefaced boys in their sweat suits lope through the
last light
Alongside long-haired girls, half-tree,
And every dog is a brother, or half-brother,
And the cold-war babies span their tender fists,
198?, to net the sun
Spun gold in these thousand pigeon brown windows
Then OUT in a mushroom of neon over Hoboken:
And I, like you, am I, in the eyes of the angels.

Winter was the time for the kind of death we enjoyed:
Then the crust of the earth was something arbitrary,
Branches roots, the sky a vein of tin,
Leaves rose, smoke fell, all the old ladies
Waiting on the benches grew beards waiting.
We talked on the phone, napped, grew white and dry
And leapt at misunderstanding, forcing the news
Every day, the news of the end of love
From the earth's four corners: then left home in the dark,
Dropping pebbles behind us, came
Into the cold: tears from the cold
Stood in our eyes like tears.

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Now, with March,
The woods begin to move, and I
Hold your body in my mind, and see
In each man here a wordless orphan boy,
In every long-haired girl a bearded lady,
In every dog the green part of my mind.
That couple stops: tenderly
He carves their initials in her bright green bark.
She takes a child, the moon climbs one slow step
And stands alone — and I
Keep in and chip in my sleep at winter's bone.

✪ JEAN VALENTINE is the 1964 winner of the Yale Series of Younger Poets. A volume of her poems will be published in January by the Yale University Press. She is the wife of James Chace, editor and novelist.

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The Question of Loyalty

An address given June 7, 1964, at the Commencement Exercises at the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia.

C. VANN WOODWARD

I REALIZE that the Class of 1964, like the student body of William and Mary as a whole, is made up of students from many parts of the country and includes students from other countries as well. But I have something to say in particular to those who are from the South, and I hope it may interest others as well.

For years I have taught Southern history in universities in various parts of the country. In the earlier years it was in the South, in Georgia, Florida and Virginia. Then for fifteen years in the border state of Maryland, and for the last few years in New England. Wherever it was, there were always students who came from the South. I have never attempted to deny my origins, and my Yankee friends assure me that it would be impossible to conceal them anyway. It has something to do with my accent. Whatever the reason, students from the South have come to me again and again over the years with questions that arise out of being Southerners. And in recent years, as racial and regional tensions tighten and intensify and the great moral issue of our time veers toward a showdown in North and South, their questions become more urgent, more insistent, more filled with evidence of confusion of values and deep emotional conflict and internal distress.

Their questions take numerous forms: Should I go back home to live, to make a career? Must I move North? Can I stay in the South and speak my mind? Or will I have to hold my tongue, keep my peace, conform? Will I compromise my convictions if I do? How will it be with parents, with old friends? The church? The

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club? What can I say to critics of the South? Some of the things they say are true, and I deplore them. But some of the things are outrageously untrue, and I resent them. Can I defend the South and at the same time be critical of it? Can I defend the people I love without betraying the principles I stand for?

These are not easy questions to answer. What they add up to is a crisis in identity the young Southerner is facing. Many older Southerners are facing it too. This crisis arises out of conflict between loyalties, deep loyalties on both sides. Involved are loyalties to family, home, community and heritage, as well as loyalties to principles, convictions and beliefs.

This is not the first time Southerners have faced such inner conflict of loyalties and sought desperately to resolve them. The great crisis of the nineteenth century over slavery gave rise to similar anguish of spirit and torment of conscience over such conflicts. There existed in the South a strong antislavery tradition. For a long time Southerners of this school were able to maintain that it was possible to be loyal to their convictions and loyal to the South at the same time, that these loyalties were not only reconcilable but compatible. Some even insisted that the highest loyalty to the South was opposition to slavery. Then in the fourth decade of the century came the Great Reaction that redefined Southern loyalty to exclude dissent. Under the redefinition loyalty meant conformity and any dissent meant disloyalty. Only by conformity or silence could one establish one's loyalty, one's identity as a Southerner.

My fear is that in the present crisis there is a new effort to give Southern identity another restricted, narrow and illiberal definition. This new redefinition would restrict loyalty to the South to conformity to an outmoded ethnic creed. A few would go so far as to include as loyal Southerners only last-ditch defenders of segregation, others would grudgingly admit token integrationists. But somewhere along the line they would require compliance to a discredited racial doctrine for acceptance as a loyal Southerner. If this definition is allowed to prevail, it will be an evil day for the Southern heritage. For in increasing numbers the younger Southerners are prepared to renounce their Southern identity rather than conform to this illiberal definition.

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We do not want this to happen, but by our silence or our ignorance we are permitting the growth of an outrageous stereotype of the South, a travesty upon its history. This is the stereotype of a white South solidly united down the ages and to the present day against justice, civil rights, equality and decent treatment for the Negro. This stereotype is already widely accepted in the North and is being published to the world as the true image of the South. It has even gained ground in the South itself, for there are evidently many Southerners who more or less automatically identify any voice raised for civil rights and equality and justice as the voice of an "outsider," with the tacit assumption that these are alien notions, un-Southern, and therefore necessarily imported from the outside.

I say this is a travesty on the history of the South—especially when I recall that we are standing on ground that was the seedbed of America for ideas of civil rights, equality and justice. This ancient college bred some of the foremost champions of those ideals and one of them wrote the definition of America that has stuck—and it was based on equality. Among the alumni of this college were some of the most celebrated opponents of slavery. Up to the Great Reaction of the 1830's the South was, in fact, the main center of antislavery thought and contained the great majority of antislavery organizations. After the Reaction closed in, many Southerners of this persuasion left the South rather than conform. In the North, and especially in the Midwest, they furnished many of the most prominent and effective leaders of the antislavery movement.

James G. Birney of Alabama and Kentucky was twice the antislavery party candidate for President. Two women from Charleston, South Carolina, the Grimké sisters, compiled the most effective and famous documentary indictment of slavery in the antebellum period. A man from North Carolina, Daniel R. Goodloe, became editor of the most influential antislavery newspaper, the *National Era*. And a young preacher from Virginia, Moncure Daniel Conway, became one of the most prolific writers of antislavery books in the 1850's. These forgotten Southerners deserve more honor and recognition from their native region than they have received.

In the long period of reaction that followed the collapse of

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Reconstruction, Northern friends of the Negro became disillusioned with the cause they had championed and in apathy and growing indifference they withdrew their support. In the dark era of the 1880's and 1890's there was in the North scarcely a single white champion of civil rights, equality and justice for the Negro who could compare in consistency, courage and devotion with three Southerners of that period. These three were George W. Cable, of Louisiana, Lewis H. Blair, of Virginia, and Justice John Marshall Harlan, of Kentucky.

Cable and Blair had fought for the Confederacy, and Harlan for the Union. George Cable was already famous as a novelist when he took up his fight for what he called "The Silent South." For a quarter of a century he waged a relentless fight for the illiterate and dispossessed minority race of his region. Cable was unsparingly critical in exposing injustice in courts, prisons and asylums, as well as racial discrimination and segregation. He suffered for his views, but it is not true as often said that he was driven from the South. He returned again and again to the struggle. No American of that period fought a better fight for a more unpopular cause.

Lewis Harvie Blair of Virginia was less famous than Cable but an even more radical opponent of racism, segregation and the closed society he foresaw in 1889, when he published in Richmond his book against Jim Crowism. A lifelong resident of Richmond, member of a distinguished old family, a Confederate veteran, a wealthy businessman and a Democrat, Blair could never be branded an outsider. Yet no American to this day has written a more eloquent and uncompromising attack upon racial injustice and segregation. Blair called for full civil rights for the Negro, equal access to all public accommodations, and integration of churches and public schools. Segregated schools, he declared, "brand the stigma of degradation upon one-half of the population . . . and crush their hope and self-respect, without which they can never become useful and valuable citizens." Much Blair wrote reads as if it were written yesterday instead of seventy-five years ago.

In 1877 John Marshall Harlan, a former slaveholder of Kentucky, took the seat on the United States Supreme Court that he was to retain for thirty-four years. Those were the years in which the court took the lead in whittling away to the vanishing point the

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protection extended the civil rights of the Negro by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Each one of those momentous decisions called forth a ringing dissent from Justice Harlan. The most famous of these dissenting opinions, the one most quoted today, was written in rebuke to the opinion of a son of Massachusetts, Justice Henry Billings Brown, upholding the constitutionality of segregation laws in 1896. "The arbitrary separation of citizens, on the basis of race," wrote Harlan, ". . . is a badge of servitude wholly inconsistent with the civil freedom and the equality before the law established by the Constitution. It cannot be justified upon any legal grounds." He predicted that the majority opinion would "stimulate aggressions, more or less brutal and irritating, upon the admitted rights of colored citizens," and that it would "prove to be quite as pernicious as the decision made by this tribunal in the Dred Scott Case."

The aggressions that Justice Harlan predicted followed hard upon the decision of 1896. The older states of the Eastern Seaboard resisted the rising tide of fanatical racism and segregation to the last. Old conservative papers like the Charleston *News and Courier* fought hard against the demand for Jim Crow laws. North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia held out against the movement until the last three years of the century. Virginia was the last to succumb, and not until 1900 did she adopt her first Jim Crow law. Only after that date was the great bulk of segregation statutes placed upon the law books of the Southern states. For segregation in the modern form, although widespread and thorough in the North before the Civil War, is largely a twentieth-century phenomenon in the South. Only then did the South close its mind on the subject, smash dissent and demand conformity of all. In these respects, in rigidity of regional posture on race relations, the first three decades of the twentieth century recall the last three decades before the Civil War after the Great Reaction set in. We have not wholly recovered from the Second Great Reaction yet.

But even in the darkest years in the earlier part of the twentieth century the Negro was never without trusted white friends in the South. When it came to the founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, it was again a Southerner, William English Walling of Kentucky, who took the initial steps

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and who deserves a large part of the credit for launching the N.A.A.C.P.

It would be absurd to suggest that Southern whites have furnished the shock troops in the long war for Negro rights. I am not saying anything of the sort. But I am saying that they have not all fought on the same side. I am saying also that down through the annals of our history whenever the issue was joined, Southerners were to be found among the vanguard of the struggle for human rights. In one of the most discouraging periods of that struggle in the last years of the nineteenth century, theirs were virtually the only voices raised for the cause. And now in our own time when the fight has reached a new pitch of urgency Southerners still play an indispensable role. It is well to remember in this connection that three of the Justices of the Supreme Court who joined in the unanimous decision of May, 1954, against public school segregation were Southerners. And at every stage of the historic series of decisions that have in the last twenty years almost completely reversed the interpretations against which Justice Harlan vigorously dissented in his time, Southern judges have been prominent participants. It is, in fact, impossible to imagine how the movement for Negro rights could have made as much progress as it has without the help it has received and is still receiving from these and other Southern friends over the years.

Southern white people may have neglected or forgotten this, but the Negroes have not. They have a long memory for their friends and they have a special regard for those of the South. In a recent poll of representative Negro leaders taken by a Negro magazine to determine the ten most trusted white people in the United States, four of the ten chosen were Southerners, and some of them hold high office in the Republic.

Of all the parts of the country the South has the greatest stake in the outcome of the present movement for Negro rights. Of all the regions the South would suffer most if out of frustration and despair these people turn to bitterness and hate and violence and lose all capacity to trust any white man. There is already danger that this will happen. This great social upheaval is approaching a crisis in the near future. Hate and violence and suspicion have already infected part of it. Control by the leaders who preach non-

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violence is tenuous at best and under severe challenge. They may well lose control. Enough social dynamite is stored up in the slums of cities in North and South to blow society apart. It is foolish to blind ourselves to these facts.

You will not escape this crisis by moving North. It may take uglier forms there than it will here. It is a national crisis, not a regional one. This is at long last admitted in the North and recognized in Washington. There has in fact never been a time in our history when the race question was less a peculiarity of the South than it is now. In face of the daily evidence of its growing importance and ominous character in other parts of the country, it would be an unbearable irony if we permitted the South to become the scapegoat of a bad national conscience, if we chose at this time to make it appear as if the South bore all the guilt and constituted the whole barrier to progress. This we cannot, must not do.

It would be a tragic decision to make intransigence and desperate adherence to a discredited code the test of Southern loyalty. If we choose to define our Southernness in this way we stand to forfeit our identity as Southerners and to be overwhelmed in our resistance as we were a century ago.

The South today has a unique opportunity, one that is unlikely to be repeated, and that is not likely to last very long. There are still real choices to be made, real alternatives open. It is one of those pivotal and fateful moments in our history comparable to those historic moments of decision in the 1830's and the 1890's. We can either move forward or, as we have in the past, turn backward. We cannot stand still, frozen with indecision and paralyzed by fear. The aggrieved people have not yet lost their faith in redress under the law—so long as white people respect the law. They have not yet drawn the line to exclude counsel of nonviolence—so long as nonviolence is not met with violence. They have not yet turned their backs on their Southern friends—so long as those friends remain true to them. The reservoir of good faith and trust is not yet drained dry. This is our last best hope to deal with an ancient problem in a manner of which we can be proud. We must meet this moment with high courage and compassion and faith and with all the resources of our best traditions.

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Reflections on the Manpower Revolution

AUGUST HECKSCHER

PEACE AND RACE RELATIONS APART, unemployment stands as the most formidable challenge to our politics. The number of men and women unemployed has over the past decade been consistently higher than a healthy economic system can tolerate. This has occurred in a time of massive pump-priming in the form of public expenditures for defense and space exploration. It has persisted despite a sustained recovery and continued economic expansion. The overall figures, moreover, are less disturbing than are the breakdowns for specific segments of the population. In many areas—the young, the older citizens, Negroes—unemployment runs at a rate comparable to the depression days.

The chronically unemployed man or woman in our society is poor and is dispossessed. Nothing we have done in the way of social legislation, or in the way of changing mores and social concepts, has relieved the basic curse of being without work. For the young, especially, the lack of a job can mean the difference between becoming a useful member of society and remaining dissatisfied on the outskirts. "Breath's a ware that will not keep." Thus A. E. Housman; and so the hopes of youth, its enthusiasm and capacity for work, cannot be put on ice after education is complete and the time to enter the work force has come.

When it comes to dealing with unemployment, the prescriptions are usually a combination of economic growth, public works and better education. It is now generally admitted, in regard to the first of these, that, although the pot boil, not everyone is going to get hot. That is to say, a considerable element of the popula-

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tion—the congenitally poor, the ill-trained, the misplaced—are not in a position to benefit from general prosperity. They stay pretty much where they are as the economic cycle moves upward. Public works of all kinds—from the rebuilding of cities to flights to the moon—are a tempting course. But as a source of employment they suffer from the same technological transformation that is eliminating jobs in the private sector.

There are those who see education as the real answer to unemployment in a rapidly advancing industrial economy. More education, better education, is held to be the cure of economic ills, as through the nineteenth century it was assumed to be the sovereign remedy for the shortcomings of political democracy. Certainly there should be a sustained effort to break the cycle of poverty which now finds too many second generation recipients of relief. At another level, efforts are required to retrain men and women whose skills a changing technology has made obsolete. This having been said, the question remains whether education in itself is an answer to the problem of unemployment. At best it provides workers for the new jobs that open; at worst it can leave us with a pool of men and women whose discontent is made more powerful because they are prepared for work but still workless.

Even the boldest and most enlightened remedies for unemployment tend to seem inadequate—for the reason, I suggest, that unemployment is an indication of much deeper problems within the social order. It is less an ill in itself than it is a manifestation of change working throughout the country's life. Senator Joseph S. Clark, chairman of the Senate hearings on unemployment, began with this conviction: unemployment, he said, is "a symptom of a broader and more fundamental challenge; it is part of a Manpower Revolution." The changes comprehended under the concept of a Manpower Revolution are deep and far-ranging enough. They include shifts in employment needs as between different geographical parts of the country, between different trades and industries, between different groups in terms of education and training. They take into account changes in the needs of the defense sector of the economy and also in the makeup of the labor force as the number of young workers makes an expected bulge.

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They involve, too, changes in consumer tastes and preferences, in technological processes and in the development or depletion of raw materials. In all these spheres changes are occurring that upset the ordinary patterns of jobs and affect the balance that keeps the economy at the level of full employment. Necessary adjustments are made more difficult by the fact that the economy as a whole has not been growing as fast as many economists believe to be desirable.

Senator Clark's concept of the Manpower Revolution is a step beyond much of the thinking being done in this sphere, and the hearings over which he presided in the second half of 1963 show the results of his intelligent direction. Within the somewhat cumbersome framework of a Congressional inquiry they manage to bring out a mass of evidence to show what is happening in contemporary industrial life. Yet the hearings were necessarily based upon considerations of practicality and shaped by the current state of policy formation. Various witnesses brought in suggestions of changes deeper and more drastic than a Congressional committee can easily assimilate: the idea was never entirely absent that perhaps advanced technology is so altering our whole existence that old ideas of work and nonwork must be fundamentally revised. The main emphasis of the Clark report, however, is much narrower. It admits that the answer to current unemployment is not merely that of putting men back to work in more or less the same jobs they formerly held; it assumes that a new "mix" will have to be created. But it sees unemployment as a problem that can be solved, and it sees the America of tomorrow essentially as the country we would like to have today, with those out of work reduced to a comfortable four percent and the rest of the citizens busy at productive jobs within the industrial system.

The more basic approach to unemployment holds the machine in its most advanced form—the machine harnessed to other machines that can compute and even plan—to be a fact that is transforming the industrial system itself. It is not only the composition of the labor force that is changing, but the nature of labor and the role of work within the lives of men and women. Automation and

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cybernation are seen as forces that make necessary a new society, and not merely new policies to relieve unemployment. Present symptoms are of a far deeper transformation, according to this view, than anything likely to be caught in the web of a Congressional hearing. And the issues are more involved than can readily get into the forum of political debate.

The idea that the machine will take over the drudgery of human toil is a very natural one. Indeed the first and most direct motivation underlying invention, at least in the modern epoch, must have been either to make the job of the individual workman easier, or to make it more profitable by allowing him to do more work in less time. If the early developers of machinery had been asked to project the final result toward which their strivings would lead, they would almost certainly have said that, ideally, the machines would do the work and man would sit by to enjoy the results. Gradually this simple motivation became overlaid and obscured. John Stuart Mill observed with some astonishment that the so-called laborsaving devices were not actually saving labor at all. They were having the effect of making it possible to satisfy a larger number of man's wants. In the twentieth century, the same machines were then to have the effect of multiplying wants, of refining and complicating them, until the primary aim of technological development was to make possible the satisfaction of ever-mounting human demands.

Mankind is still a large way from having all its material desires satisfied; it is still happily capable of conceiving new wants in abundance. But the machine, meanwhile, has made strides which revive the earlier dreams of a world in which the shuttle does its own weaving and the worker takes a long holiday. The replacement on a large scale of men by machines has certainly happened in specific areas of the economy, like mining or farming. It has occurred in the production of factory-made goods. In the service sectors of the economy the same process has been at work, in communication, transportation, banking, for example. It may be argued that this displacement of human labor is merely a temporary stage, and that it is corrected as the full implications of technology are unraveled. Thus the telephone industry has frequently

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been cited as an example of highly developed technology with a labor force that has not appreciably diminished. The telephone industry has not, however, contributed jobs to the American economy in proportion to its economic growth. And today it becomes more difficult to affirm with certainty that as a result of the telephone's highly automated development the work force will not in the end prove drastically diminished.

It is possible, as a last resort, to fall back on the argument that the work required to create the complicated machines more than makes up for the curtailment in the number of people necessary to operate them. Yet the creation of machines—not taking into account research and invention—is precisely the kind of work from which the human worker can be eliminated. If machines can translate a scholarly paper, it should be no trick at all for them to make other machines.

The logical extension of the machine is usually taken to imply the liberation of large parts of the population into something that is called leisure. That more free time will be available in the society of the future can hardly be doubted, but the advantages of this trend are problematical. At the moment free time seems to be going increasingly to those who have least resources to enjoy it. It goes in an extreme and unpleasant form to the worker who finds himself laid off without money adequately to provide the necessities of life, far less to provide those luxuries that can make one's days varied and rewarding. Or it goes in the form of early retirement, increased vacations and shorter hours to those whose educational advantages have not fitted them for a life of free choice and inner cultivation. The part of the population that once enjoyed leisure, the scholars, the wise men, the managers of wealth and the rulers of the social order, are today the ones who are working long hours. The bifurcation of society into a hardworking minority and a mass condemned to the pursuit of unrelieved recreation is not wholly a nightmare of the future. That the opportunity for hard work should become the badge of distinction that once belonged to leisure is not any longer a paradox.

The logical alternative to this deadening division of society

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between the workers and the nonworkers is for everyone to work a little. In theory this seems far the better choice. But it is important to ask in what forms and measures this free time shall be allotted. The shorter working day—now that we have reached a point where relief from physical tiredness is no longer at issue—seems to provide chiefly an opportunity for the worker to lengthen the duration of the journey to and from his job. At best the time given him is leftover time, still dominated by rhythms of the industrial process and affording little opportunity for sustained or fruitful enjoyments. The longer weekend would find time added to a pattern of living that we can hardly say we have made humanly very satisfying. It would have chiefly the effect of encouraging second homes, at ever greater distances away from the family's main base. As for the block of time that comes after the traditional retirement, it has not heretofore been put to a kind of use that would make us want to lengthen it to any great degree. The same can be said for longer vacations or "sabbaticals."

These remarks may sound unnecessarily negative. One condition, if it were fulfilled, could change one's attitude toward the general increase of free time in our society. That condition is a substantial increase in the educational level attained by the majority of the citizens. (At present twenty-three million Americans over eighteen years of age have completed less than eight years of schooling.) To enlarge the educational experience, and to make it run through the adult life, could be a means of converting free time into something close to true leisure. If education, as I suggested earlier, is not a "cure" for unemployment, it can very definitely be a cure for the hell that free time without purpose or structure can reveal itself to be.

So high an importance must be attached to education in this connection that rather drastic means could be sought to encourage it. I suppose that compulsory adult education would hardly be feasible. But there is an approach to the problem that has been suggested by the stress now being placed in different quarters upon the possibility of separating income from employment. In a society where automation has permanently displaced a large segment of the population, it is argued, income should be assured to all at a

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level that permits a decent living and the enjoyment of reasonable pleasures. The objections to this approach are obvious; but there is a variation upon it which may be put forth with some seriousness. Suppose the monetary rewards of society went, as now, to those who work—and also to those who study. Would this not be a means of assuring their being saved from a bored and barren existence?

The rationale of such a reform would be in part to give meaning to the lives of those whom machines have displaced from traditional forms of work. It could also be justified on the narrower grounds of providing normal and ready means for retraining for re-entrance at a higher level into the working force. But perhaps most important of all, in the long run, would be the benefits that might accrue to society from a pursuit of truth in the most liberal and disinterested way. We have only an inkling of the insights and perceptions lost through a neglect of education; not least of the dividends from such a system might be the development of a group of wise men, giving their lives to neither teaching nor research, but to study and meditation after their own desire.

The idea is perhaps not so radical as it sounds. If we were to add together all those who today are receiving an income while they study, we would find the number quite large. Graduate students in universities, young men in many branches of the armed services, workers being retrained and executives being sent for refresher courses at liberal arts seminars, scientists doing pure research, scholars in universities and on grants from foundations—from these and other groups we could choose a large roster of men and women who would qualify for the new order. It is interesting, indeed, to note how many young people at college tend to think of themselves as "working"—being paid by their families or through scholarships for doing something quite as responsible and onerous as holding down a job. They think it quite natural to pass from being supported while studying to being supported by a wage while working. Perhaps in this they portend things to come.

Leisure, even leisure made alive and fruitful through education, does not, however, seem the answer to the challenge of auto-

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mation. The very idea of a large population doing nothing but pleasing themselves goes against the American grain. A different way of looking for the way out begins with a conviction that people are not going to be idle in the new industrial society, but that they are going to be doing work of a different kind, holding jobs that have not yet been invented or else are vanishing away. An extraordinary thing about our society is that while we talk about the danger of there being insufficient jobs to provide full employment, we are conscious of a multitude of needs that seem to lack the necessary workers. The conservative is always harping upon this paradox. He says, in effect, that there cannot be any real problem of unemployment because his wife cannot get a cook, or because his hedges go untrimmed for want of a gardener.

In a way, the conservative is right. He has perceived that there are real needs waiting to be fulfilled. But he stops there and assumes that it is owing to the wickedness of the laboring classes, or to their lack of "character," that they do not come forth to take the proffered opening. The liberal must go further, asking why these needs are not satisfied and how we can organize the economic system so as to make it more responsive to what men and women require for their pleasures, their conveniences, their comforts and their spiritual delights. Nothing could be more grim than the prospect of an industrial society that provides goods and standardized services in profusion but leaves everything else untended. Many desirable things our present society cannot seem to afford. It cannot afford live music in its restaurants, or adequate nursing care, or the kind of domestic aides that liberate young people from what is fast becoming a cramping servitude. Many other things are being done increasingly by the consumer under the guise of self-help or do-it-yourself attractions.

To be able to care for one's own is, I suppose, desirable; a cursory acquaintance with the innards of today's machines and gadgets may even have some effect in bridging the "two cultures." Yet it is plain that the organization of the modern world is systematically directed toward putting upon individuals who are presumably being served an ever heavier burden and a more complex responsibility. Today's telephone system, like today's super-

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market, is designed to make a man do the work that he is under the illusion of paying others to do for him. Some remnants of an obsolete civility remain, as in the telephone operator who comes to one's aid after a dozen digits have proved too much for the mind to hold or the fingers to manipulate. But that, we may presume, will pass also; and modern man will be left with little between himself, with his poor skills, and the vast anonymity of the machine.

Needs exist; the problem is to turn them into viable jobs. Within the social system we must find ways of making it possible for men and women to undertake simple and elementary things like cooking, or counseling, or pursuing a craft, without being inadequately rewarded or made to feel odd. How can this be done? We shall want to avoid "made work," for that is inevitably degrading; already, in the attack on unemployment, we seem on the verge of a new Blue Eagle drive, with signs threatening to break out in the windows of establishments about the town asserting, "We have hired one boy"—or maybe half a dozen. Would it not be more in keeping with the spirit of a technological age to proclaim that we have liberated a worker from the age-old curse of toil! We shall certainly want to avoid stopping technological advance in areas where the machine can do the work as well as a human operator. Why, for example, should we not have automated subway trains, when we have safe and highly successful automated elevators?

Where real needs exist, we can certainly find ways of meeting them with real human beings. Let me suggest a few of the means and methods open to us. At the simplest level one can readily conceive efforts to organize personal or household services more imaginatively, so work can be done more efficiently, hours can be made regular, and wages can be more nearly commensurate with those earned in other fields. This kind of organization is in fact going on: today's housewife rarely has a man-of-all-work, but calls upon a window-cleaning service to clean the windows, a floor-care service to wax her floors, *et cetera.* Something is lost, but at least the housewife does not have to deal entirely by herself with so-called laborsaving devices such as vacuum cleaners, nor the man of the house with the toil and complications of the mechanical grass-cutter. This same principle of better organization and neo-

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professional status could be worked out wherever something is required between complete personal service and complete dependence on gadgetry.

A second approach involves supplementing salaries in the field of services, so as to make them available to the consumer and at the same time attractive to the worker. For certain groups the minimum wage law could be lowered, with the difference made up out of public funds. This could be, for example, a way of increasing jobs among the eighteen to twenty-two-year-old group. The salaries of nurses could be supplemented so as to keep the supply adequate and yet not put the wage out of reach of those who require such care. To supplement in a similar way the rate which people are ready to pay handymen or gardeners could substantially cut relief roles.

A third suggestion is still more far-reaching. It assumes retirement from the industrial work force at a considerably earlier age than now, together with the pensions and social security which would be clearly conceived as "deferred wages." Men and women, it is further assumed, would not do nothing on "retirement"; they would be freed to undertake work of their liking, supported by their "deferred wages" and such lower compensation as could be reasonable to expect from nonindustrial and nonautomated sectors of the economy where productivity is naturally low. From such a pool we could draw a host of talents and services which would make our common life more various, colorful and pleasant. In the years past fifty (or even forty-five) men could make a good living while regularly engaged in gardening, running a small shop, counseling, in public service, or in the cultivation of artistic skills. Many activities that today are engaged in as hobbies, in "leftover" time with results lacking good workmanship or high standards, would be undertaken seriously as ends in themselves. We can indeed conceive a whole second economy—the economy of craftsmanship and service—growing up alongside the economy of the machine.

Today we make it impossible for men and women to draw Social Security while they are doing other work of a substantial nature. In the wholly different context that I have sketched, the emphasis would be changed. We should try to create incentives for those who

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retire from the industrial work force to continue in jobs in the low-productivity sector of the economy. Their Social Security could well be *increased* if they take such jobs, or their pensions could be more leniently taxed.

Such schemes may seem chimerical; but it is sobering to think of the kinds of work once occupying the whole of man's adult life that have now become residual, or have been transformed into sports or hobbies. Men have lived by farming alone; and farming today occupies in a highly advanced industrial country like the United States about eight percent of the population. They lived by hunting or by sailing the seas; and we hunt or sail today as sporting activities. In the space of a few generations we have watched the preponderance of American workers pass from the farms, where technological improvement came early and dramatically, into the sphere of manufacturing. The last decades have seen a massive flow from manufacturing into the services. For long it was believed that the services would prove indefinitely resistant to technology. Could a barber cut more than his allotted number of heads per hour, or a storekeeper wait on more than a given number of customers? But we know now that services can be automated, or that by various devices they can be made to be performed by the very person who wants to be served. Where, then, do the workers go?

Where they go will make the utmost difference in the character of our society. If they move out of the sphere of industrialism into an aimless and idle existence, the ensuing degeneration is not pleasant to think of. If they move into new forms of work—work that asks skills of hand and mind—they will restore to the social order the qualities of warmth and color that the machine has put in jeopardy.

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Pittsburgh in Passing

SAMUEL HAZO

Between old battles and the ones I should
be seeing, I have lost my circus eyes.
Birthdays are deathdays. I feel the glaciering
of centuries beneath the pulse of clocks
and through the blown-out candles of my blood.

I stand unarmed where Braddock's armies stood.
Instead of Hurons I see acres piped
and sewered for our waste and mined with bones
of Quakers, Indians and immigrants.
Three decades in the woods of William Penn

have left me kin to all the buried men
who claimed this wilderness and named this town.
Where Washington marched in buckskin, I can drive
through battlefields of signs and ironworks,
inhale unrevolutionary air

and damn the siren waking me to war —
alerts each Monday of the year. Senates
have bolstered us with bunkercaves and rockets.
A palisade of missiles rings the town
while banking and burlesque thrive back to back

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in the same building. Threats of surprise attack
would bench a naked tease and the most correct
of tellers flank to flank in a joint shelter.
No one objects. Shielded around the clock
by minutemen in radar shacks, we tomb

the Hiroshima world beside old Rome
and older Troy while mayors fatten us
with talk. No one admits we walk on skulls,
and no one prays Isaiah back to speak
the truth without refining it to please!

The siren spins. The aborigines
and whites who battled here are six wars old.
Chained to a different blunderbuss, we sleep
in cemeteries screened by warhead forts
and dream our moats are still the seven seas.

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The Negro Revolution and the Intellectuals

WILLIAM B. HIXSON

SELDOM HAS THE IDEA OF REVOLUTION been held in greater disfavor among Americans than in the years since the end of the Second World War. In a world in which men seize the power of the modern state in order to mold entire populations into their ideological patterns, such a revulsion is hardly surprising. Among American intellectuals, the erosion of any hopes they had placed in the Soviet "experiment" had developed, by the 1950's into a distrust of systematic thought, social planning and revolutionary tactics. Instead, they began increasingly to find virtue and wisdom embodied in the pragmatism, pluralism and conservatism of the American political tradition. One wonders what would happen if a movement appeared that found this tradition so deeply flawed that it wanted to start on new foundations? If Hannah Arendt is correct in saying that the distinguishing characteristic of modern revolution is its sense of novelty, then surely such a movement would be "revolutionary."

This attitude is increasingly the position of the American Negro: his demands for equality are still framed in the rhetoric of American democratic idealism; he still wants what the rest of his fellow citizens want. But that is not the issue. The American Negro is becoming aware, not only that his demands have so often been rejected in the past, but that they cannot now be achieved within our society as it is presently constituted. Thus the sources of potential conflict may lie not only in irrational white resistance to his demands for equality. "White Americans impress me," James Baldwin has written, "as being far more hopeful, far more innocent, far

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more irresponsible, far less aware of the terrible, black, ugly facts of life than black people can afford to be." Could it be that the real crisis will come in the Negro's challenge of the image that white America has of itself? If so, could it also be that the intellectuals' current interpretation of American history and society may be partly to blame for this mistaken image?

The American intellectual community has not reinforced the educated public's racial prejudice; that it has consistently challenged. But it has reinforced their conservatism. Insofar as the intellectual mood of the last two decades has been "conservative," it has inevitably created a barrier between intellectuals and the "revolutionary" Negro movement. "Conservative" theories emphasizing consensus, pluralism and human fallibility, although by no means maintained by all intellectuals, have been held by the most influential thinkers in the period since World War II. They began their interpretation with an attempt to explain the "uniqueness" of America in avoiding the apparent old-world cycle of revolution and despotism. First, they explained, we had avoided the social misery that had provoked total conflict in Europe; and, because of this, we had been able to develop a "consensus" both on our economic objectives (equality of opportunity in a capitalist economy) and on political procedures (universal suffrage and representative government). American political argument had appealed to the same values and institutions; no successful political party in America had challenged either the economic objectives or the political procedures.

American society, they believed, had been a successful experiment, not only because all the interest groups competing for control of the government had abided by the procedural rules, but because all actual or potential interest groups had been given the chance to control it. Dominant economic and social groups had not, in our society, been allowed to monopolize political power and restrict the fluidity of the entire system. Business interests had dominated economic policy, and white Anglo-Saxon Protestant prejudice had limited ethnic and religious tolerance in the nineteenth century. But, this "theory of balance" maintained, recent political movements (notably the New Deal) had given the labor movement,

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the farmers and minority groups the institutional power to counteract those forces.

It was to those areas of political action where their "theory of balance" did not apply that intellectuals turned their attention in the fifties. For, in foreign policy and civil liberties, there are few, if any, interest groups preventing a frustrated mass public from either attacking dissenters within or railing at the world outside. Contemporary intellectuals have therefore challenged some earlier assumptions about the degree of intelligence, interest and tolerance of the average citizen. However strange it might seem to some of their predecessors, today's still nominally liberal intellectuals have given their loyalties to such "undemocratic" institutions as a professional diplomatic corps and the Federal court system. In both cases, they argue, only such barriers can prevent public hysteria from destroying the framework for intellectual debate within the country, and from seriously damaging, through bellicose policies, America's position of strength within the world.

A society composed from its beginnings of "middling orders," a society devoted to reform within the limits of democratic procedure and a capitalist economy, a society with "countervailing power" among interest groups and some institutional protection against waves of hysteria—this, I suggest, is the composite portrait of America that her most representative intellectuals have portrayed in the last fifteen years. It is a conservative view, although most of the men adhering to it consider themselves liberals. In their devotion to social reform and civil liberties they are "liberal"; their view is certainly not "conservative" in the sense of Barry Goldwater or the *National Review*. Their view is conservative in the traditional sense; like the newly appreciated Edmund Burke and John Adams, they tend to favor social order and a dispassionate governing class, and acknowledge the limits of majority rule and of any attempt to reform society. The reasons for the rapprochement between so many American intellectuals and the Kennedy Administration, I would suggest, was that policy-makers (even those without academic backgrounds) shared so many of the same values. Unfortunately, the "conservative" mood of the intellectuals tended

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to provide the perfect justification for any administrator who identified his particular Congressional gadfly with the principle of representative government and his own mental sluggishness with the metaphysical limits of social reform. It was not a matter, as some of their less influential colleagues charged, of these intellectuals being bought off: they were simply reaping the harvest of their ideas. If Henry George anticipated the angry agrarianism of the Populists, and Charles Beard the iconoclasm of the New Dealers, these men foreshadowed the cautious reform of the New Frontier.

If the Negro movement of today can be defined as a "revolt" against white liberal leadership, it should not be surprising that it also rejects the interpretations offered by white liberal intellectuals. American Negroes are increasingly aware that theirs is a unique position in our society. Although he has been here from the beginning, the Negro has never been accepted as a full participant in the "American way of life." White immigrant groups, now largely assimilated, also met long and bitter prejudice in their drive for equality; but even in exclusion they had a coherent culture, a common language and religion, to give them security. But the Negro, uprooted from his native Africa, was given only an imposed culture—part of the white man's religion and none of his education—in his years of slavery. And having denied him the possibility of a family, of an education, and of self-advancement for two hundred and fifty years, white America has accused him of promiscuity, stupidity and shiftlessness ever since emancipation.

For a long time the American Negro was left out of the democratic process. Alone among Americans, he was born neither free nor equal, and the condition that most of his countrymen claim as a birthright was granted him only by the grace of the majority. Our reform movements have usually passed him by. The Revolution did bring about emancipation in the North, but gave the Negro few, if any, of the political and civil rights that accompany freedom. Rather, some of the most sensitive minds of the time thought the solution to be sending free Negroes back to Africa. Confronted by the new profitability of slavery made possible by the cotton gin, emancipation halted; as of 1861, only twelve percent of American Negroes could be considered "free." The North incorporated the

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Negro in its Civil War idealism, formally liberated him, and then, with little more than the language of three Constitutional amendments to protect him, abandoned him to his former masters. In the Age of Reform, the Negro was attacked by embittered Populists and patronized by the Progressives; not until the New Deal could he regard government as having a personal interest in his welfare, and even then he was often faced with discrimination in relief administration and agricultural policies. Many of the compromises of the American "consensus" have been made at his expense; American Negroes have difficulty in not regarding the Civil War as fought between one side that wanted to keep them enslaved, and another that didn't want them at all. Negro attempts to find white allies, whether in middle-class "civil rights" organizations or in lower-class economic movements, from the days of Abolitionism to those of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, have been met with the white majority's acquiescence in the campaigns of terror and fraud against them. The American consensus that the Negro has known has been that of hostility.

Intellectuals would be the first to admit the truth of this indictment; much of their recent effort has been to show the pervasive racism of earlier American thinkers and politicians. They would insist, however, that the gains of the last twenty years indicate major progress toward racial equality, mainly due to the political power of the Northern Negro and the liberalism of the Federal judiciary. It took the snarling dogs and the fire hoses of Birmingham to thrust the Negro before the American conscience, and make the educated public and intellectuals realize what progress had *not* been made. The Southern Negro will be the beneficiary of the most sweeping Civil Rights Act in history. But for the Northern Negro, already surrounded by a battery of egalitarian statutes, liberal judges and politicians eager for his vote, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 will do little good at all. The Northern Negro is losing faith in both the ability of his "interest group" to accomplish much through political channels, and in the ability of nonpolitical administrative institutions to enforce the law effectively and objectively. For in the North, where agencies have been set up, the Negro's condition is only partially improved. Not only is he faced with the usual

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bureaucratic inefficiencies, but with the long, slow, expensive process of investigation and injunctive relief. Faced with any massive resistance on the part of the white community, governmental efforts on his behalf are often nullified, as the protracted battle with the construction unions should prove. The good things of life, as America defines them, cannot be enjoyed without money—and a job to earn it. But the rate of Negro unemployment remains twice as high as among whites.

The American Negro remains somewhat cynical about the idea of an America with a wide diffusion of power. His belief in a "power structure," if nothing else, means for the Negro that he has been excluded for so long that conflicts within the system seem less real to him than the overriding white hostility. He has never fared well in the cross-pressures of interest groups, and not only because he alone among Americans has had his constitutional rights subject to the vagaries of factional pressure. The "theory of balance" implies a certain give-and-take among competing interests, with compromise depending upon the parties' respective strengths; the result, in economic terms, has been evolving policies toward collective bargaining, control of agricultural production, business organization and so on. But so oppressed has the Negro been that his "group rights" are the basic conditions that other Americans take for granted: among other things, the right to eat, sleep and go to the bathroom without having to make it a major project, full of danger and difficulty. Given the differences between such Negro demands and those of economic interest groups, compromise reaches absurdity. And with the memory of his abandonment after Reconstruction, the Negro does not need to be reminded that what the majority grants, it can also take away.

If to the Negro, legislation has meant compromise at his expense; administrative commissions, vacillation; the courts, lengthy litigation; and law enforcement, the blows of a policeman's club—it is not surprising that he turns to the direct action techniques of civil disobedience. When Thoreau refused to pay his poll tax and went to jail, he helped set the three criteria of civil disobedience: he had broken the law, he had done so publicly as an affirmation

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of specific values (the participant in civil disobedience does not reserve the right to break any law he pleases), and he had done so nonviolently. He also accepted his punishment; for, unlike the rebel, the civil disobedient does not challenge the authority of the state. Thoreau's was an individual refusal to perpetuate injustice, however, not a collective demand for justice. Social groups, unlike individuals, have the power to precipitate a crisis in institutions, even through nonviolent action. At the same time, an objective change in the unjust situation must result, and not, as with an individual, merely moral satisfaction. The demands this places upon the Negro leadership are almost intolerable: they must direct the activism of their members toward attainable goals, and try to prevent demonstrations for demonstrations' sake; but when specific results are not achieved, bitterness is all the greater. In the South, the Negro campaign of nonviolence has to contend with overt hostility, but, as Birmingham proved, it can appeal to a wider national audience. In the North, however, it can only appeal to the same apathetic majority that has already allowed its legislative gains to be frustrated.

The "revolutionary" demands of the Negro movement, revolutionary not in their rejection of American ideals but in their opposition to the structure of American society, raise more than the obvious political and social issues. Their demands also create an important intellectual issue, for they involve an implicit rejection of the prevailing interpretations of "consensus" and "balance," and the values of order and moderation. It is true that in the last year intellectuals themselves have been revising many of their attitudes. The world itself has changed since the 1950's. When the two major powers possess "overkill" capacity, when centrifugal tendencies disrupt both the Soviet bloc and the Western alliance, and when the underdeveloped South of the world becomes increasingly assertive, the defense of American institutions must be perceived in different terms than a decade ago. The recent discovery that there are between thirty-two and fifty million Americans who are trying to live on a family income of twenty-five hundred dollars a year or less has at least qualified the idea of an "affluent society"; their number, in a society already unable to

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achieve full employment, will almost certainly grow as the effects of automation make themselves felt. The past year has brought Senator Fulbright's "thinking unthinkable thoughts" about our foreign policy, Michael Harrington's dissection of American poverty, the brashness of *Dr. Strangelove,* and the Ad Hoc Committee on the Triple Revolution—all nearly impossible to imagine in the America of ten or fifteen years ago.

If all these events are indications of changing attitudes in the intellectual community, what, then, is the problem? In its crucial aspects, the prevailing interpretation of the fifties has not been changed, and our intellectual history shows that major changes in thought are necessary to achieve even moderate political reform. Progressivism and the New Deal were made possible partly by the destruction of the Darwinist and formalist intellectual edifice by Dewey, Veblen, Boas, Beard, Holmes and a whole generation of thinkers. Today, instead, the intellectuals' cautious expression of their commitments, their pursuit of "qualitative liberalism" and reluctance to consider "bread-and-butter" issues as still going ones, has undoubtedly contributed to the state of mind Walter Lippmann described several years ago. "We talk about ourselves these days as if we are a completed society," he wrote in 1960, "one which has achieved its purposes and has no further business to transact." Those intellectuals who have regarded poverty, discrimination and violence as somehow exceptions in an otherwise moderate and affluent America are confronted with a Negro movement that has arisen precisely as a protest against all three conditions. As the Negro revolution uncovers the brutality in American society, intellectuals will be less and less able to describe our society accurately either to the policy-makers or to the educated public.

There are several fruitful approaches, it seems to me, for intellectuals to take to come to an understanding of the Negro movement. The description of American history in terms of "consensus," as it was refracted from one level to another, tended to "convert a vibrant, dynamic, and violent society, in which men have fought out with all available weapons the crucial issues of their times," in John P. Roche's words, "into a peaceful, even somnolent process

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of brotherhood and compromise, an extended Quaker meeting." During the fifties, furthermore, few intellectuals ever bothered to define what they meant by "consensus." A definition, not without current relevance, was once made by Horace Kallen. "Every consensus is a won agreement," he said, and in it "the parties to the initiating conflict presumably enjoy parity. The confronted interests are alike in freedom and importance. The issues between them get joined not by exclusion and antagonistic imposition but by reciprocal interpenetration."

Consensus, for Kallen, is thus differentiated from conformity and coercion; in neither of the latter are the interests "alike in freedom and importance. . . . Agreement by conformity comes about through the voluntary adjustment to a social environment over which the conformer has no control. Coerced agreements, *per contra,* are involuntary." His definition has much to say about the American experience. Leaving aside the place of the Negro in the American "consensus," who can deny the coercion of the American Indian? Or is the American "consensus" firmer than the South African, simply because the suppressed aborigines are less numerous? The polite rhetoric of the "melting pot" aside, what about the cultural Procrustean bed into which we have put our non-Anglo-Saxon, non-Protestant immigrants?

Similarly, the "theory of balance," with its image of competing and approximately equal groups, needs to be modified. Edmond Cahn has pointed out the distinction between the perspective of those who measure the administration of justice by its ability to keep the system running smoothly, and those who view it "according to its concussions on human lives." Intellectuals have tended to use the first, the "imperial," perspective. Political scientists, sociologists and economists have for too long regarded the political conflicts of the last twenty years as taking place between the two Americas that possess power. One America feels that the country is no longer "theirs," and is fighting a rearguard action to repeal the changes of the last several decades; another accepts these changes, but, in its new affluence, favors only a few supplementary reforms (such as urban renewal and Federal aid to education). It is now evident that these intellectuals have ignored the "other" America,

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the unskilled, the migrant workers, the tenant farmers, the victims of regional depression—and this "other" America includes the majority of American Negroes—who, without economic or political power to protect themselves, have been the victims of discrimination, economic exploitation and brutality. Having automatically included these groups under those aided by the welfare state, intellectuals have overlooked the violence that still meets the efforts of the really dispossessed to organize themselves. With a perspective regarding the Negro and his suffering as somehow peripheral to the main issues of American society, it is not surprising that Negro intellectuals have responded with the themes of *Invisible Man* and *Nobody Knows My Name*.

Since it indirectly raises the question of violence, the Negro movement challenges not only the intellectuals' analysis but their moral commitments. As we have seen, the chronic instability of European governments and their succumbing to totalitarian revolutions impressed intellectuals with the benefits of social order. In their view, revolution was not only linked with despotism, but was unproductive of social gains. Peter Viereck expressed the "new conservative" mood: "He who irresponsibly incites some minor abuse within a good tradition, may bring the whole house crashing down on his head and find himself back in the jungle—or its ethical equivalent, the police-state." American Negroes, however, find it difficult to call their treatment in our society "a minor abuse"; for them our tradition inevitably remains deeply flawed. So when the Negro movement claims that racial justice is *the* issue in American life, it is not only challenging intellectuals' priorities but offering a completely different perspective.

No concept of the intellectuals has reached a wider audience than the idea of a neutral framework of "law and order" to which all, as parties to the continuing American consensus, must adhere. In the demagogic atmosphere of McCarthyism, and today with Southern resistance to desegregation, the concept is still useful. But in respect to the Negro movement, "law and order" long ago lost its clarity. In the first place, although the Negro movement may have been forced outside the institutional structure to accomplish its purposes, as Loren Miller, a prominent Negro attorney, has

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pointed out, "the Negro is outraged at being called an extremist. Since he takes the position that the Constitution confers complete equality on all citizens, he must rest his case on the proposition that there is only one side: his side, the constitutional side." In the North, Negro demands do not challenge the laws, but rather (as in demonstrations before construction sites) are on behalf of stricter enforcement of existing antidiscrimination statutes. In the South, most of the laws in this field are *ipso facto* discriminary, and unconstitutional; if both sides had "obeyed" the law, there would have been no integration movement. And in the South, violence and disobedience are embodied in the institutions themselves: the Negro cannot forget that when he violates a local trespassing ordinance he is mowed down by fire hoses, that when the Governor of Alabama defies Federal court orders he runs for President.

It is not clear that "law" is synonymous with "order." The plain fact, perceived mainly by right-wing extremists, is that the Supreme Court (in its desegregation, reapportionment and criminal procedure cases) is the greatest instrument of social change in America. If the Court is interpreting the Constitution correctly (and most intellectuals undoubtedly believe it is), then they are faced with the question of why, in a democratic society with a "balance" of interest groups, it is the courts that have to equalize suffrage and abolish discrimination. In attempting to explain the origins of the Radical Right, intellectuals have tended to ignore the significance of these changes in our legal institutions. Unlike their successors, nineteenth-century conservatives had no need to attack either courts or law enforcement agencies: both performed their duties admirably in the Pullman strike of 1894. Today, faced with a greatly changed judicial and administrative outlook, those who would defend the *status quo* roundly denounce the Supreme Court and the Department of Justice. Conservatives today, in other words, far from being "pseudo" conservative in challenging governmental authority, are behaving in a typically American fashion, once they are cornered, and fighting with every means at their disposal.

The possibility that widespread violence will result from opposition to civil rights reaches the foundations of our democratic

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society. In the Deep South the ugly face of violence has already appeared this summer in opposition to voter registration drives. Today America cannot say, as it did in 1877, "Let the South handle its own problems," for Mississippi Negroes are as surely Southerners as Mississippi whites, and *they* are demanding justice. But in spite of the progress in the border states and the liberalism of Atlanta, the Deep South still says "never." Every state may have accepted desegregated education in principle, but ten years after the 1954 Court decision only 1.18 percent of Negroes in the states of the Old Confederacy were in desegregated schools. After Little Rock in 1957, after Oxford in 1962, and after Birmingham and Tuscaloosa in 1963, Southern liberals predicted that extremism was making a last-ditch stand. Not only does it continue; its advocates are stumping the North. And the nomination of Senator Goldwater has made too many Southerners regard racial justice as no longer "inevitable." Will any civil rights legislation ever be accepted peacefully in the Alabama of George Wallace, the Louisiana of Leander Perez, or the Mississippi of Ross Barnett? Will a second military reconstruction accomplish any more than the first? Or do we have to wait for a change of heart on the part of the Deep South majority? White Americans seem never to have decided whether the liberation of four million slaves was worth the death of six hundred thousand white men in the Civil War. It is worth asking again to what degree social order, not to mention national unity, and the protection of civil rights are reconcilable, and whether acquiescence in oppression is necessary for the continuation of a "free" society.

It has been my contention here that contemporary American intellectuals, in their interpretation of American society as one of "consensus" and "balance," have necessarily left out the Negro from their considerations. But the relationship of the Negro to their general interpretations would remain an academic matter, were it not for the demands of the Negro movement. Those demands not only challenge the intellectuals' analysis but the values implicit in them, and present the intellectuals with a dilemma. Most intellectuals sincerely regard themselves as sympathetic to the Negro cause: they have attacked biased interpretations of earlier scholars, and have taken the lead in supporting govern-

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mental efforts to secure civil rights. But their theories are now leading in an antiliberal direction. Insofar as they have reinforced their public's devotion to order, they have aided militant white racists in the South, who by standing firm can establish the terms of the conflict, and vacillating administrators in the North. By attacking those earlier movements in American history sympathetic to the Negro—Abolitionism, Reconstruction, the Populists —they undercut the moral authority of today's Negro movement. Insofar as they have portrayed America as an orderly society, with a high degree of equality and pluralism, they have made the Negro's task of articulating his aims to the educated public more difficult. A Negro writer, John Oliver Killens, has written, "The Negro loves America enough to criticize her fundamentally. Most of white America can't be bothered." Unless intellectuals themselves begin such a fundamental criticism, by reevaluating their present interpretations, their public, faced with increasingly "revolutionary" demands, will regard the Negro movement as challenging everything "American." In such a conflict that common commitment to American ideals which her Negroes, her white public and her intellectuals still share—will surely be destroyed.

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Poverty and Progress

DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN

IF THERE ARE NO OTHER VICTORIES whatever—and there will be—the war on poverty at least began with a notable advance for semantics. A nation that does dearly love nice things and soft words, that calls graveyards cemeteries and is now turning to "gardens of repose," was for once encouraged to call a particularly ugly fact by its rightful name.

It would be pleasing to report that this was in some measure the work of semanticists or associated academicians, but it was not. At whatever point in recent history officialdom transformed the "poor" into the "disadvantaged," those who might have protested were apparently content to accept the change and drop the subject. American scholars contributed little either to the conception or the launching of the war on poverty. The impulse came from men of ideology such as Michael Harrington, responding in the face of unmistakable fact more from conviction than from analysis. Action came from the world of politics. The vast establishment of American learning, with its presumptive initiative in the qualitative concerns of American life, was passive if not inert in the face of the more elemental issue of want.

There is even a measure of guilt here, or if that is too strong a word, of error. The universities turned their attention away from the problems of poverty in some degree because the problems were thought to have been solved, in the sense that the process of solution was well under way. The post-World War II depression did not materialize, and those who had most anticipated it seem almost to have overcompensated in a confusion of surprise and disappointment. It was evident that incomes generally were rising, and it appeared that low incomes were rising fastest of all. Clearly, the

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world had changed. As S. M. Miller and Martin Rein report, "In a spirit of 'dazed euphoria' American social scientists formulated a new natural law of income equalization."

We were wrong. At almost the moment of the pronouncement of the beginning of the end of the historic inequalities of wealth, the distribution of income in the United States froze. In 1947 the twenty percent of the families with the lowest incomes received five percent of the national income. Fifteen years later it was still five percent. The proportions were exactly reversed at the top, and remained exactly unchanged.

We deserved to be wrong to the extent it was supposed that anything happening generally in the United States would also be happening specifically. The nation is too vast and much too varied. And as it turned out by the 1950's things were getting relatively worse, not better, for many specific groups of people. By the end of that decade Robert J. Lampman of the University of Wisconsin was able to show that income shares generally were not changing, and since then Oscar Ornati and Herman P. Miller have demonstrated that for persons with certain characteristics of age, color, sex, area and occupation the situation was in fact deteriorating.

Because our statistics separate them out, the experience of Negroes during this period is the one that can be seen most clearly. The majority of the poor are not Negro—four fifths are white—but a near majority of Negroes are poor. What has happened to them is probably not unrepresentative of the common experience of the poorest groups during the great postwar prosperity. And what happened was awful. Real incomes did rise, and opportunities for Negroes with education and training did open up as never in the past, but by and large things got worse. In the first place, Negro wages relative to white wages, after moving ahead at a good pace during the 1940's, began to fall behind. In 1951 the average male Negro wage earner was receiving sixty-two percent of corresponding white earnings. By 1962 he had dropped back to fifty-five percent.

Simultaneously Negro unemployment began its seemingly inexorable rise: 4.4 percent of Negro male workers were unemployed in 1951; by 1962 the rate had almost tripled to 11 percent. Unemployment among white men rose, but by 1962, at 4.6 percent, it

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was only two-tenths of a point higher than the Negro rates a decade earlier. In the meantime the massive migration to the cities continued, so that by the middle of the 1950's the signs of social morbidity were unmistakable to anyone who cared to notice. The Negro family structure began to crumble under the impact of unemployment, dislocation, and possibly also the peculiarly savage welfare policies of the Federal Government which practically required that families break up as a condition of welfare assistance. With the family base eroding, there was less and less to build on as the years went by.

Very little attention was paid to any of this, with one honorable exception. In 1956 Averell Harriman, as Governor of New York State, called for an "Attack on Poverty" in his annual message to the legislature. The data he cited were of almost exactly the same order and magnitude as those to which President Johnson called attention in his Message to the Congress eight years later. One family in five in the nation was then living in poverty, with an income under $2,000. One in eleven had an income under $1,000. (Today one in five has an income under $3,000, one in ten under $2,000.) There were about eight million such families. (There are somewhat over nine million today, by the current standard.) Most of the families were headed by white males, two thirds were non-farm families, and almost half were headed by men who were working, but simply not earning enough to support their families properly, again a situation that has not much changed.

Harriman's analysis began with the discouraging complexity of the problem, and proceeded to a detailed proposal for study and action that moved with some relish across departmental and other jurisdictional lines—again in a pattern of response to the realities of the situation that President Johnson was to follow. But the time had not come for an attack on poverty. The program moved ahead with great promise, but little public attention, and when Harriman lost the next election the effort was abandoned by the succeeding Republican administration.

Public responsiveness did change somewhat in the interval between Governor Harriman's message and that of President Johnson. It became ever more clear that things were not taking

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care of themselves. Harriman had deplored the fact that in the nine years leading up to 1956, Gross National Product had risen by $100 billion, but the number of poor families had declined by only one million. The same Gross National Product rose that much in the first thirty-six months of the new Democratic Administration in Washington (three-quarters as much in 1954 dollars), but still the poor were there. At the current rate of attrition the prospect would be that the actual number of families living in poverty would begin to rise, reaching as much as 11.4 million by 1975.

The easing of the cold war, with the prospect of defense cutbacks, released a good deal of energy and, potentially, resources as the new administration passed midterm. The great upsurge of Negro militancy was an unavoidable fact that demanded and was entitled to a mature and generous response. But there was another factor: the stalemate of social progress as defined in the institutional terms of the 1930's and their aftermath. The New Frontier came to power with an impressive list of things-to-be-done, but most of them were defined as extensions of earlier programs or reassertions of earlier ideas. Many of these incremental battles had been fought and lost previously, and before long it became clear that they were being fought and lost again. Then came the surge of hostility from the business community toward an administration that was profoundly and earnestly pro-business, not in the sense of being anti-anything else, but rather in the automatic assumption of the mutuality of interests in a complex and creative economy. It was clear the nation urgently needed a new definition of the social problem that would unite rather than divide, and a tract from the distant and almost forgotten world of apocalyptic ideology provided it: the issue was poverty. When President Johnson proposed that we go to war against it, he added just that measure of activism that the proposition needed. The stalemate was broken. A whole spectrum of program ideas that individually were deadlocked and doomed, were put together, added to, and before anyone could have believed it, enacted by a coalition in Congress and a body of opinion in the nation that could not have been conceived a year earlier.

What we have had is a great stroke of luck. After two decades

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of immobilism, the old rigidities are giving way and the nation is moving ahead in an area where deadlock was turning gangrenous. The object now must be to exploit the opportunity. Almost certainly this will require an intense effort of analysis to understand much more about what has been the trouble, and how the present effort must proceed if it is to achieve its objective, an effort that must now involve the world of scholarship.

The first question is what is the nature of poverty in the United States. It is curiously not a simple question. The problem is that poverty is the normal, historical condition of human life. It has always been that way, and in terms of world averages, it still is. But certainly mass poverty—and we have that—is hardly the necessary condition of life in a nation whose wealth grows by thirty billion dollars a year, whose economists routinely assume the economy will have grown another fourth by the end of the decade.

"For ye have the poor always with you" quoted Congressman Ayres of Ohio at the outset of the hearings on the President's poverty program and that may very well be, but the question remains whether the reason will always be the same. There is no justification for simply ignoring a proposition that in one form or another has been with us from the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, namely that the same processes that produce industrial wealth also produce poverty, that the two go hand in hand.

Because Marx happens to be one of those who stated the proposition, and in a form that most of us, including myself, would agree to be technically inaccurate and morally wrong, it does not follow that there is nothing to a perception that appears repeatedly, both in the common understanding and in the speculation of political economists. We are not far from the centenary of Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* which put the matter in terms that still must be contended with:

> The masses of men, who in the midst of abundance suffer want; who, clothed with political freedom, are condemned to the wages of slavery; to whose toil labor-saving inventions bring no relief, but rather seem to rob them of a privilege, instinctively feel that "there is something wrong." And they are right.

We must now talk not of the masses of men, but of the minority,

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but that does not alter the conditions of the individuals involved.

I will venture that there is something of this kind going on, that the "paradox" of poverty amidst plenty in the United States is in some important respects only a surface reality, that underneath the relationship in a number of specific instances is causal.

The first and most familiar fact is that of advancing technology. The essential source of our prosperity lies in the unsparing application of technology to the processes of production. The word is unsparing: the effect is demonic when compared with the way other peoples, altogether as anxious to get rich as we are, nonetheless manage to restrain themselves. The new technology (or more correctly, recent technology) is fundamentally a creative process, but in that process it destroys communities, destroys jobs and destroys people. These are the new poor.

The destruction of the American coal miners is a prime example. It would not be accurate probably for us to state with Orwell that "Our civilisation, *pace* Chesterton, *is* founded on coal," but it is fundamental to the production of ferrous metals and electric power. We have the cheapest coal in the world, and in measure thereby just about the cheapest steel and the cheapest power. We also have the cheapest coal miners. In the twelve years from 1950 to 1962 almost sixty-five percent of the soft coal mining jobs in the United States were eliminated, with such indifference to the effect on the lives of the miners and their families that it is hard to think of it as a contemporary event.

The coal miners of whom Orwell wrote went through a bitter era of unemployment during the 1930's, but it would be all but impossible for it to be repeated today. British productivity is improving and employment in the mines is being cut, but as a general proposition it may be said that not a single miner has been thrown permanently out of work for a quarter century. It is perfectly clear that this policy has required that inefficient mines be kept open, and that is what has happened, period. For a variety of reasons, some better than others, the British and most of the nations of the continent can no longer conceive of throwing a whole industrial population on the slag heap.

We can and do. A similar case is that of our agricultural work-

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ers. The United States has the cheapest food in the world. This has come about through the application of science and technology that has driven in recent years millions of farm families off the land, into the cities, with little or no preparation for the life they then have to lead.

Through all this there is a steady, if essentially impersonal, bias against the unskilled and the ill-equipped. The notion that automation is about to do away with the work force altogether, or bring about some such domestic upheaval may conceivably be true, but there is no evidence of it. Productivity increases over the past years have simply not been that great. On the other hand, there is evidence of a continually rising standard of minimum acceptable abilities, so that more and more those at the bottom are left out. In 1962-63 for example, output per man-hour in nonagricultural activities increased only 3.0 percent, hardly a sign of cybernation. But in agriculture, where there are still many marginal producers, output per man-hour increased 7.4 percent, a change brought about not so much by an increase in production, but by a reduction in workers.

This bias is painfully evident in the area of job creation. From 1957 to 1963, when the population of the United States grew by 18,097,000, only 300,000 new full-time jobs were generated by private demand. Since 1957 almost half the jobs added to the American work force have been in state and local government, positions that tend to be skilled, and almost invariably today require examinations and accreditations of various sorts.

This is a major explanation of the problem of youth unemployment. During 1963 every additional teenager entering the work force caused a net addition of the number of unemployed youth. In the first half of 1964, stimulated by the tax cut, for the first time since 1957 there was marked and dramatic improvement in the unemployment situation in the United States. From the second quarter of 1963 to the second quarter of 1964 employment moved up by 1.8 million. In July, 1964, the unemployment rate finally fell below 5 percent—for the second time since 1957. But in contrast with other groups the job picture for teenagers actually deteriorated in comparison with 1962. At 15.7 percent in the

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second quarter of 1964, the unemployment rate for teenagers was as high as for any year in the postwar period—nearly half again as high as during the comparable period in 1957.

This situation is clearly worse among the children of the poor. Again using the Negro statistics because they are available, as late as 1948 unemployment among male Negro youths was actually *below* that of whites. Since then it has risen from 7.6 percent to 25.4 percent in 1963 and is now almost twice the rate for white youths.

It may be the characteristic fault of modern society will not be the exploitation of the poor, but their exclusion, based upon means tests of ability and training. Nature is not nearly so generous in passing out the brains as liberal social policy tends to assume. A quarter of the population has an I.Q. under 90. Such individuals are born pretty much at random throughout the upper, middle and low income groups, but while a middle-class upbringing will compensate for limited abilities, particularly by strengthening special talents of which most persons have some, the poor child of limited natural ability grows if anything worse, and is in turn unable to help out those of his own offspring who may happen to be born with a superior potential.

A cultural pattern is involved here. Industrial progress does not have to produce poverty, but with us it seems to be doing so, for some groups at least. By contrast, although returns are not altogether in, it appears very likely that the industrial democracies of northern and western Europe, without any particular travail, have in the course of the past fifteen years quietly put an end to poverty in their own nations. It is as if it were too obvious a thing not to do if it could be done, and when the resources became available it was done—and not just in Scandinavia.

Here again the American experience appears to be related to qualities that are peculiar to us. The most striking quality of the American nation is the size of the country and the diversity of its people. There is nothing in history to match the incredible mixing of "race, color, religion and national origin," superimposed on a continental territory that stretches up and down and across the globe. Surely a great measure of our vitality, energy and creativity

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derive from the Noah's Ark quality of the nation, with its incomparable potential for permutations, tensions and excitements.

The advantages gained from this diversity in the population are real, because the differences are real. At the same time there are disadvantages, and these too are tangible. Because of them Americans have been unable to reach sufficient agreement on a whole range of issues involving "race, color, religion and national origin," not to mention region, to the point that we are almost unique among modern nations in the absence of certain types of uniform public services. The most important of these is education. Are we not (save Canada, an exception that proves the rule) the only industrial democracy in the world that does not have a national system of support for elementary and secondary education? The result is that persons who live in the poorest states and communities in America get the poorest education, with the resultant tendency to perpetuate that system. Perhaps the major social discovery of the postwar period has been the work of men such as Theodore W. Schultz and Edward F. Denison, demonstrating that investment in human capital—*not* physical capital, *not* technology —is the major source of contemporary economic growth. That being the case, our inability to establish national minimum levels of support for education has very likely had the effect of accentuating the difference between investment in the human capital of the well-to-do communities, as against the poor ones.

Size and ethnic diversity is probably also the main source of what might be called the discontinuities of the American social conscience. The hard luck of one group of Americans is not that easily perceived by another despite our enormous willingness to help one another. The problem is one of communication. If the white middle class *knew* the conditions of life among the American Indians, would they accept it? Probably not, but they *don't* know. In this sense ethnicity and size are a barrier in America similar to that of social class in the European past.

It is no answer that things are getting better for almost everyone, even if at differential rates which widen the gaps between top and bottom. It will be recalled that Marx quoted with satisfaction the statement of the Manchester Medical Officer of Health that

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"the average age at death of the Manchester . . . upper middle class was 38 years, while the average age at death of the labouring class was 17. . . . It thus appeared that the well-to-do classes had a lease of life which was more than double the value of that which fell to the lot of the less favoured citizens." Everyone is vastly better off today, but the inequalities that persist still offend against the light. So long as excessive disparities exist between those who inherit privilege and those who inherit disadvantage, the social order is out of balance.

At the other extreme of argument, it does not follow that the problem will not be resolved until everyone is living in the style of white, middle-class America, until, that is, everyone has a full complement of serious things to worry about. Oscar Lewis has observed that the existentialist writers have been desperately trying to recapture in middle-class lives exactly the spontaneity and sense of the present that is so often the flower in the cap of poverty. Somehow, surely, people can be left alone, without being left to rot.

That is why unemployment is for the moment the master problem. The essential sin of which our society is capable is not that of allowing people to remain poor, but in making them useless. In an age of overactivity, to be unemployed is to be guilty. The evidence is strong (although one would think that by now much more would be known about the subject) that men on the margin of the work force, recurrently or even permanently out of work, suffer the worst kind of personal disintegration. The victims in the main of utterly impersonal forces, they nonetheless take it personally. Their families suffer and their children are deprived in ways unknown to the prospering majority.

If our society has any moral purpose, if we acknowledge any common responsibility for the minimum well-being of all, then surely our understanding of natural rights must extend to the subject of employment. Labor, in the words of Pope John XXIII, is "both a duty and a right of every human being." Right, repeat, right. In an industrial world that has not yet come to terms with the question of leisure, men without work are deprived of an essential condition of human dignity, and there has not been a week in the past decade when by any counting there have been

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fewer than a million such in the United States. (The number of unemployed reached 5.7 million in the month after President Kennedy took office, the highest point since the depression, but not all of these were marginal workers.) We have not understood this clearly until now, and perhaps we do not even now. Full employment is an accepted ideal in our economy, much as perpetual motion would attract the managers of a generating plant, but the idea that it *must* be achieved, even at a price, because the cost of not doing so is intolerable, is not generally accepted. We are still a long way from Sir William H. Beveridge's declaration to wartime England:

> Full employment . . . is something that the British democracy should direct its Government to secure, at all costs save the surrender of the essential liberties. Who can doubt that full employment is worth winning, at any cost less than surrender of those liberties? If full employment is not won and kept, no liberties are secure, for to many they will not seem worth while.

It would be simplistic to think of Beveridge's proposition only in terms of the unemployed themselves. The very fact of unemployment, although it may involve relatively few, threatens many. It is the source of untold rigidities and fears in the world of industrial and social relations.

Next to the problem of unemployment is that of low wages for men with large families. The United States is singular in the general absence of arrangements for adjusting income to family size. Except for assistant professors in small Catholic colleges, the number of children in a family has generally no relation to family income, save as an inducement to moonlighting. One can even detect a general assumption that families are smaller than they actually are. The City Worker's Budget prepared by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and on which most conceptions of minimum living standards are based, assumes a family of mother, father and two children, which is somewhat below the national average of families with children anyway, and almost irrelevant for a family of ten, of which there are a good many.

In 1961, 24.5 million children, or thirty-seven percent of all children under eighteen, were in families with four or more chil-

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dren. These constituted eleven percent of all families, and about eighteen percent of all families with children. In 1961 nearly half (forty-eight percent) of all children in families with incomes under $3,000 were in families of four or more.

One of the most disturbing indices of social disorganization in the nation are the Selective Service rejection rates. If all young men of eighteen were called up for examination, a third would be rejected as unfit for military service. (In actual practice more than half are rejected, but not all are called.) Roughly one in six would fail the mental test, which measures minimum achievement at about the level of a thirteen-year-old schoolboy. Seventy percent who fall below the mental standards come from families with four or more children and about half come from families of *six* or more.

Clearly we require a strong wage system, and a strong trade union movement to maintain it. But it may also be that special adjustments should be made for family size at low income levels.

At this point a warning is in order. Although it is no problem to describe in general terms what needs to be done, it is essential to emphasize that these simplicities are turning out to be difficult of achievement, and that in fact most "natural" forces seem to run contrary. The overwhelming danger we face in the area of poverty is that we will not have the energy and social creativity to make our system run properly, but will instead settle for making up for its shortcomings by massive programs of public assistance. Despite all of those who sincerely feel these programs are already too large, the plain fact is that they exist, and the course of least resistance is to let them go on getting bigger. It would be disgracefully expensive to do so, but also, somehow, easier. Life surely provides examples of how often people individually and collectively will pay a price for not having to change their ways.

It would appear that this is what happened to a great number of the American Indians.

From Appalachia we have heard the bold and challenging voice of Harry M. Caudill warning that "We are on our way to becoming a welfare reservation."

In my own city of New York, in the twelve months ending in June of this year—surely the most prosperous twelve months in

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the history of any nation or any people—the number of persons receiving public aid increased 12.4 percent to almost a half million.

The American welfare system is one of the proudest achievements of a generous and compassionate people. But it must not be allowed to become the economic system of a permanent subculture. Men need jobs, families need fathers, communities need independence. This must be our objective, and it is an objective entirely compatible with the fullest care for those individuals who find themselves temporarily or even permanently unable to look after themselves. It would seem we know very little about what *changes* things for a family or an individual. No one would deny that our best minds have been otherwise engaged over the past several decades, but it is past time that we righted that imbalance. In the meanwhile social policy must seek its own pragmatic solutions. We must share the courage and optimism of the President who declared, in signing the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, "The days of the dole in our country are numbered."

This is the object of the war on poverty with emphasis on jobs and job training, education and community action. It is within our power to change the course of recent events, and we fail to do so at the risk of all that is strongest and true in the American heritage.

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THE ARTS IN AMERICA • 1964

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JOAN DIDION *writes a regular column on the movies for* Vogue. *Her first novel,* Run River, *was published here last year and in London this spring.*

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Of Nothing But Facts

BROCK BROWER

"In this life, we want nothing but Facts, sir; nothing but Facts!" thunders Thomas Gradgrind to the cowering pupils of his model school in Dickens' novel, and I wonder sometimes if we haven't all come under his "eminently practical" tutelage at last. It is an increasingly factual existence we pursue in our own Hard Times—almost inviolate to any stray fancy or immortal longing, any fearful symmetry or field of light, all lullabies and goodnights—and where there was once at least the fragile possibility of man as a thinking reed, there is now only his brittle instance as a well-informed straw. We too seem to want nothing but Facts, sir, and the Facts, sir, have paid us grim heed and arrived in terrible superfluity. There were always more Facts than the human mind could possibly hold, but now there are apparently more Facts than the human mind can possibly sift—only the computers of the Information Revolution seem able to keep order (Robespierre and his Virtue?)—and shortly there may be more Facts than the human mind can even allow. Like all our "eminently practical" resolves, our stubborn will to the Facts has begun to diminish us, and too often we end up resorting to that petty expediency—the closing of the mind—in order to pretend to a safe, false knowledge. Thus, the "simple facts," as we then allow ourselves to see them, are—that we are all nothing but I.B.M. numbers, and the computers are counting our votes before we cast them—that the world is far too complicated for us to make any honest evaluation of it, or even of ourselves—that you can't pass a law that will make people *love* each other—that everybody has his own view of reality—that this is a Republic, not a democracy—that intellectually, the Only Answer is To State the Problem—and so on, down the long list of analphabetic or High Table defeatisms that plague our times. That way we can go right on being "factual" without ever having to admit the Gradgrindian mistake that brought us to this sorry pass in the first place, that is, our failure to rely in any way upon the literary imagination in this unequal contest with the Facts.

Of course, no such dreary self-deception can obtain forever—even Thomas Gradgrind himself breaks down in the end—and actually, the first few tiny fissures are at last beginning to appear in this monolith of bland matter-of-Fact-ness. An imaginative prose is finally being written not just about the Facts, as any good fiction is, but *with* the Facts, as only journalism has been until now, and then indifferently. Curiously, but effectively, the magazine article was the first lowly reportorial engine taken up by certain novelists and reshaped to express much more than a surface newsprint reality. And already there are several books that might commence a literature of Fact—James Baldwin's *The Fire Next Time,* some, although certainly not all, of Norman Mailer's *Presidential Papers* or Theodore White's *The Making of the President, 1960,* a work of political reportage that closely parallels the novel—now become an enterprise that Mr. White intends to stretch over the coming Presidential years in a line that almost parallels the saga. And just this year Ernest Hemingway's *The Moveable Feast* was published posthumously—highly factual sketches of his Paris in the Twenties that are separate in nobody's mind from his

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novels and short stories; indeed, are used rather to refute the failure of his later fiction, as if the artistry of Hemingway came down in the end to the Facts of Hemingway. Only, of course, the Facts had to be brilliantly handled. When Lillian Ross merely reported them in her famous *New Yorker* profile, they appeared ludicrous. But when Hemingway himself wrote about them—*with* them—they suddenly became a passionate declaration of all that was finite, yet invincible in his early achievement.

That much at least has been accomplished, but these are fearfully small gains against what Dwight MacDonald has called "the triumph of the Fact," and even they are in danger of being engulfed by what Baldwin and others, in opening the first cracks, have ironically let loose. For if the artist has at last begun to turn to the Fact, so has the hack, and with a killing touch. On the excuse of its "factuality," an entirely false literature is proliferating right along with the genuine work. To find *The Moveable Feast* at the top of a best-seller list designated "Non-Fiction" only emphasizes how easily the dubious can be associated with the great by a silly term. Hemingway never wrote non-anything. But he is placed on the same roster with all the non-writers of non-books who, being no respecters of forms, have extended their non-craft even to the non-novel. Since this is an election year, most non-novels at the moment happen to be political in their "facts"—possibly the most impudent being Eugene Burdick's *The 480,* a civics lesson in how a computer, with all the prejudices of the electorate fed into it, can pick the perfect candidate. The narrative is obviously intended to dramatize modern political reality, but it ends up utterly exploding it, leaving behind no more shards than a Harold Stassen convention balloon.

Of course, that is precisely what happens whenever the Facts are forced into a put-up literary job for the sake of melodrama, instead of enlightenment. Not long ago, a girl named Helen Klaber walked away from a plane crash in frozen Alaska and after days of pluck, reached safety and cried out, "Hey, I'm alive!" Almost before she'd closed her mouth again, *that* became the title of "her" book. Publishers and agents followed her to the hospital like ambulance chasers. After innumerable contracts and tape recordings and ghost-writings, Miss Klaber emerged as an injury case in more than body alone. In fact, when she appeared on the TV show "To Tell the Truth," none of the panelists guessed her as "the real Helen Klaber." Their complaint was that she didn't seem to remember the incidents of her own ordeal any too clearly. How could she? After so many blue-penciled versions of her "real life," which arm *was* it she'd broken?

Patently this nonsense has no place in any sound literature of Fact, but it's important to understand why such odd trash —instant biography, non-fiction novels, *et cetera*—is also accumulating now. The reason is that the triumph of the Fact has broken up most of the traditional readerships in the society, and left a real hunger for a kind of writing that hardly has a form of its own yet. So it houses itself, like a hermit crab, in almost any form it can find, and sometimes, unhappily, provides itself with very sorry quarters indeed. The appetite, of course, is for reality. Facts—nothing but Facts—have only whetted it, and now it seeks to be satisfied with a prose that has that taste of actual existence in it.

Some years back, Norman Podhoretz, in defending the magazine article as a rather preposterous but decidedly emergent "new form" for this kind of prose, tried to explain its rise in terms of functionalism. "I would suggest that we have all, writers and readers alike, come to feel temporarily uncomfortable with the traditional literary forms because they don't *seem* practical, designed for 'use,' whereas a magazine article by its nature satisfies that initial condition and so is free to assimilate as many 'useless,' 'non-functional' elements as it pleases. It is free, in other words, to become a work of art." A good suggestion that stops too short. Plainly we're uncomfortable with "the traditional literary forms" because they *are* impractical for the kind of writing

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by BENJAMIN KEEN

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a functional society demands. Nothing but the Facts has led us here—not temporarily, but permanently—and caused a social upheaval that is sentencing all literary forms summarily, those to be put to "use," and those to be put to "death."

First of all, the functional society is automatically a more open society than the class society that was the original milieu of the Great Novels. The novel form belongs to a closed society in which much of reality is kept at arm's length (even through "realism"), in which the reader is *parted* from some quotidian, not extraordinary, experience for which the novel can comfortably substitute, either critically or sentimentally, or both, as in Dickens. But, despite the fashionable outcry against alienation, nobody today really believes that any part of his society is totally closed to him. The appetite for reality persists because there is nowhere—functionally—that reality may not be sought. Everybody believes he has an effect, tiny as it may be, that reaches from top to bottom—that is why James Baldwin can now harangue us so effectively—and indeed, the last great theme of the novel-in-retreat has been that of the private man, the anti-hero (unfortunately, pure myth) escaping from his total involvement (that is, his imprisonment) within the functional society. None of us, however, do escape, and that is why a book like *The Making of the President* carries such an impact—because it "narrates" for the reader what his vote did, how it functioned, and therefore how *he* functioned, inside the political reality. *The 480,* on the other hand, is falsely novelistic in its attempt to do much the same thing, and therefore a crabbed failure in the wrong shell.

Still more important, the functional society has worked one other great transformation: a society of manners has given way to a society of procedures. The fictional world is the place where manners—the intimate ways in which human beings manage class distinctions, variations in temperament, social contacts across race or lace barriers, *et cetera*—are examined and understood; taken broadly, even *Ulysses* is a novel of manners. But manners are not now nearly so decisive as mere procedures —impersonal dealings across humanity in justice, genocide, propaganda, policy-making, *et cetera*—in fixing the fate of men in a functional society. A literature of Fact must take up these colorless, imponderable procedures and make them as familiar (since they already are so fatal) to readers as Vanity Fair or Bloomsday or maybe even Tarzan. There have already been a few such works. One of them, Hannah Arendt's *Eichmann in Jerusalem,* was outrageously misunderstood by some people who could not see that Miss Arendt was studying just such a colorless, horrible procedure, not the manners of the Nazis or their victims. But an even closer instance is Anthony Lewis' *Gideon's Trumpet,* a study of the Supreme Court case that established the right of any indigent defendant to have a lawyer defend him against a criminal charge. Through all the complicated procedural steps, the book continues to "read like a novel," yet keeps within the everyday reality of the judicial process that represents Final Hope in our mundane, functional society. It is a form of narration, but to understand how far removed it is from the workings of fiction, we need only lay *Gideon* alongside of *Jarndyce v. Jarndyce.*

There are certainly aspects of this situation that must be flatly appalling to anyone "raised on books," but it is more than a mistake to inveigh against the coming of such utilitarian prose. In the end, such opposition is a disservice to literature, for really the best hope for the written word lies in that direction. It is simply the case that the speed and resolution of our present media have opened up reality to everybody in the functional society, so much so that there was no geography, no time lapse, no pauperism, in fact, no necessity that kept anybody from having some share in the awful Four Days of Kennedy's assassination. When an actual event—indeed a series of them—reaches that magnitude, is that much "shared in," mere fictions begin to lose their importance, and imagination has another duty. Imagination must help make

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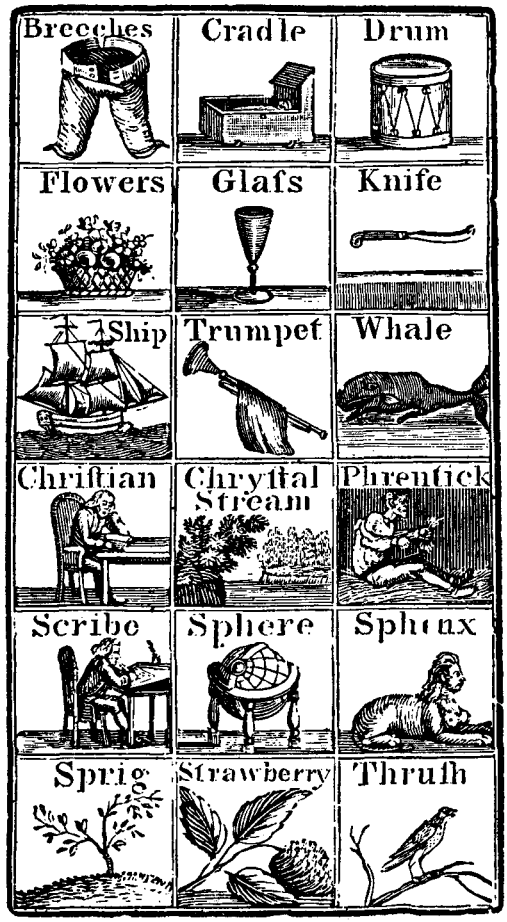
sense out of nothing but Facts, lest we yield ourselves up to the plotlessness, the lack of character, the paucity of theme inherent in nothing but Facts. It is almost as if what has already been accomplished with fiction, must now be accomplished all over again with reality. We are going to need literary forms—indeed, we have already made a start toward them—that can contain what is happening to *us*, so that we may see beyond the triumph of the Fact, beyond Gradgrindism and colorless functionalism and procedural terror. This is a strange turnabout, but we now need a literature that can move us back inside reality to meet the Facts without confusion or fear or diminishment. It is writing that has now become the art of the possible.



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The Young Composer in America

PETER MAXWELL DAVIES

Before going to the United States, I had only the vaguest notions of American music —a state of affairs not unusual in Europe, where the names of Copland, and now, increasingly, of Sessions, are respected, but of nobody else, unless one mentions Gershwin. To the European, American music is still obsessed with an overt nationalism, as it was indeed in the twenties and thirties, when the prime concern was American folk music, and above all, jazz. At that stage the American composer needed an easily assumed and recognizable identity to distinguish himself from the European, and he self-consciously set about finding it. In Europe the only countries then cultivating a specifically nineteenth-century style of Romantic musical nationalism, with the implied tinge of self-indulgent sentimentality possible in the lack of a sterner musical tradition, were the musically underdeveloped ones, or rather those which, for various historical reasons, had lost their musical traditions, perhaps even hundreds of years ago: Spain and England. The musical nationalism of Hungary, with Bartók and Kodály, was quite a different matter, indebted to the unique half-oriental character of her folk music, introducing rhythmic, melodic and harmonic progressions new to the symphonic concert hall; on the other hand, contemporary Russian musical nationalism, despite a wealth of similarly interesting folk music, lost its chances of comparable spontaneity when composers were obliged to follow an official "party line." Probably the American sort of nationalism combined something of a spontaneous interest in and reaction to the new possibilities of folk music and jazz, comparable to the Hungarian situation, with the self-conscious bandwagon jumping and the substitution for real musical substance of folksily wistful meanderings current in England at that period. The well-known works of Copland contain enough of the tough and genuine kind of nationalism to have evoked a world response, but, unknown to Europe, American music developed a great distance away from any conscious nationalism, and it was Copland himself who suggested that I should go to America to find out just what these developments were.

I chose to use my Harkness Fellowship to study in the Graduate School at Princeton University—this on Copland's recommendation—where the composition staff is as formidable a list of names as one would find anywhere, headed by Roger Sessions, and containing the name of Milton Babbitt, known in Europe not by his original music but by his articles on musical composition theory, which are so radical and so knowledgeable that they alone would ensure his not being employed by any comparable British institution, even without a note of any of his scores having been heard.

Immediately I was impressed by the standard not only of the staff, but of the students. In comparison, it is only fair to say that the teaching and study of musical composition in Britain is simply not serious. (I was soon to realize that this is so in many institutions of learning in the United States too—that Princeton is one of the exceptions.) The one great influence behind the high standard at Princeton, Harvard, Yale, Berkeley and Oberlin is that of Arnold Schönberg and those pupils of his who left Germany and Austria during the Nazi regime to settle in America. (It is ironic that Schönberg, before setting sail for the United States, was refused a teaching position at one of London's most august institutions

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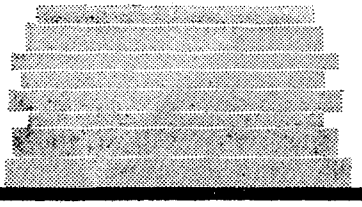

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of musical learning, where composition, analysis and theory teaching remain at their prewar level.) Through Schönberg, and also to a great extent through the dissemination of the work of the Viennese theorist Heinrich Schenker by members of the Vienna group, America has inherited as much of the "Viennese tradition," from Haydn and Mozart through Beethoven, Schubert and Mahler down to Schönberg, Berg and Webern, as it was possible to salvage—certainly far more of it than Vienna itself, which has not recovered from this drain of her best teachers and theorists. But, America being the melting pot it is, the transplanted Viennese inheritance quickly became American, outdoing the Austrians for Teutonic thoroughness (at Princeton a computer is at hand to help solve knotty problems of twelve-tone or any other sort of musical theory) and, with the individuals involved, producing often something as original as is humanly possible, and possible only in America at that. Earl Kim, for instance, a Schönberg pupil of the forties, now teaching at Princeton, whose instinctively oriental way of understanding musical phenomena, and all art forms, has encompassed Schönberg's way of understanding, produces music whose workmanship reflects the extraordinary resultant perfectionism, legendary among his Princeton students.

These, then, are the two main "traditions" of American music today—the nationalist one of the twenties and thirties, and the Schönberg-Schenker tradition that has developed in the colleges since the forties. (There are, it is true, other currents in American "tradition"—Stravinsky has not lived in California for so long with no effect, and even before he settled there his "neo-classical" style had become influential; Darius Milhaud's work at Berkeley has made its mark, and so forth—but the two traditions outlined above are the mainstay.)

It has been characteristic of our musical culture that a composer's value has had a direct relationship to the way in which his work has modified existing musical traditions—that his individuality express itself in terms of a tradition, but extending and, it would often appear, even flouting the tradition. This becomes ever more noticeable in the so-called "Romantic" period, when any few notes will be enough to identify the composer. Even a nonmusician can thus identify Chopin, Schumann, Tschaikovsky and the rest, an impossibility with music of only a hundred years before, and this has not only to do with such music being less familiar.

Among musicians the legacy of the Romantic attitude that a composer should, even now, somehow be original and individual still holds good—even that he should be an "outsider," revolting against musical tradition and the values of society. It is such a basically Romantic attitude, applied to the whole of society, that in America, with her traditional respect for and encouragement of the individual, makes possible the appointment as university teachers of real composers (provided they have the right certificates!) as opposed to those academicians who teach composition in the general European sense. And so the real composer becomes a part of the "establishment," and something of his function, in Romantic terms, is frustrated, by the attitude of goodwill and tolerance on the part of the society in which he works.

Perhaps the last two great American Romantics, in this sense, are the absolutely dissimilar figures of John Cage and Milton Babbitt, both of whom had to work in a society totally hostile to their music, in much the way Romantic composers of the nineteenth century often imagined they did. Theirs was probably far more real an isolation, working in the America of the forties, when public ignorance of twentieth-century music was almost total, and the universities were still suspicious, if interested at all. It is hardly to be wondered that Cage revolted to extremes against the folk-jazz tradition of American music, and all others, and against his teacher Schönberg, turning the sense of music inside out, feeling it necessary to create an elaborate pseudo-Zen philosophy to justify the musical meaninglessness—the lack of relatedness to any known musical experience—of his

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work. "Freedom," even in music, must make clear from what it is supposed to be free, if it is going to be meaningful in any context and, in this sense, there is no such thing as absolute freedom in music. It can only be relative, the relationship being implicit throughout the composition. Thus Cage's work is not music in the previously known sense—there are no relationships, other than chance ones, within the context of the piece, or between that piece and previously written music. It is significant that Cage's public consists largely of visual artists and their patrons and public.

To Babbitt, such incoherence is anathema. He took the theory of twelve-tone composition from Schönberg and organized it in a way that would have been unthinkable to a musician steeped in the physical sound and feel (as opposed to the theory) of the Viennese tradition. Being a mathematician, Babbitt explored, long before the postwar European "avant-garde" post-Webern school, and with more mathematical honesty, the possibilities of serial organization. Having an extraordinary perception of the niceties of rhythm and pitch, he became exasperated by the inaccuracies of live performers of his music, and was forced, by sheer necessity, to turn to electronic means to realize his musical purpose. In doing so he was scorned by musicians, who, however, were always rather afraid of his extremely sharp intellect, and treated him with more respect on that account than they would have wished. Babbitt has brought a great deal of opposition to himself not only by the thorny uncompromising sound of his early music from the forties and fifties, but by the way he talks; to a musician not versed in mathematics it is often hard to believe he is talking about music at all. This is perhaps at least partly understandable as an elaborate defense mechanism after the damage he was done in the early forties. From recent works, particularly *Philomel* for soprano and synthesized tape, it would appear that, unlike Cage, Babbitt has not become entangled in the technique and theory of his early works, but that he has *through electronic means,* and without any compromise anywhere, found a new musical meaningfulness and purpose, this above all in the clarity of the harmony and the sense of direction in the vocal line.

Cage and Babbitt are now an accepted part of American society, occupying an odd and special nook: Cage lectures at respectable colleges and his philosophy is seriously discussed; Babbitt is on the Princeton faculty. Serious and friendly articles and even pictures appear in respectable, sometimes popular magazines. These are the two most "way-out" figures in American composition; how is the younger composer to go on from there, to react against such a background, to come to terms with and even replace such paradoxical "father figures"? One can out-Cage Cage by indulging in more and more "aleatoric" stunts, or one can out-Babbitt Babbitt by spinning even more complex mathematical-musical nets, but this hardly amounts to establishing a distinct musical identity. One can react against Cage and Babbitt by writing music that has more in common than their work with Schönberg or older music, but is this not being "reactionary"? Even if the "progressive" faction is in America now "official," it is not easy for a young composer to be "anti-official" when this implies being a reactionary antiprogressive.

Purely numerically, most young American composers must be unaware either of the nature of American musical tradition today, or of the difficult paradoxical situation that is the young composer's legacy; such a state of affairs is inevitable in a culture where provincialism is a geographical inevitability. Their music makes no impact beyond their home college community. But in New York, Chicago, San Francisco and the main centers, the problem is quite clear-cut. The young composer does not know which way to turn to define himself against his inherited tradition, owing to the subtle nature of a tradition that has it "both ways."

All this, however, takes place in a comparatively hothouse atmosphere. Unlike much of Europe, America in general is still almost totally indifferent to twentieth-century music, and in particular to living com-

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posers. If Cage and Babbitt appear in a popular magazine, it is not because the public is interested in them, stimulated by familiarity with their music. Rather, it is to pander to the public's idle curiosity for the sensational news-value; it is these composers' ideas about music, rather than their music, that "stimulate." If the general public in America takes a more vital interest in a musician, it must be one about whom a more familiar film-star style of romance has been manufactured—a Cliburn or a Bernstein. Such figures have no contact with young composers. It is hard to imagine Bernstein even performing the work of a composer under thirty-five, much less the New York Philharmonic commissioning a work from one, no matter how talented, as happens sometimes in Europe. It is true Bernstein did once perform works by the "Cage school" at the Philharmonic, an odd choice, which one suspects was rather gimmicky, bearing in mind that orchestra's almost total neglect over the years of even the classics of the twentieth century, particularly of serial music. Under such circumstances, the young American composer is lucky indeed if his music is brought before a "general" public in the European sense, as there is almost no contact between the city orchestras and the compositional activity of the universities. He will probably be played to the interested and limited circle of his own college and of other similar colleges. Perhaps even that wilting hothouse flower, the American branch of the International Society for Contemporary Music, will take an interest, limited however by its disgracefully insufficient financial backing. But is all this not American society's very subtle way of *dismissing* the composer—by making him "official" in this way in an isolated circle, thereby *seeming* to accept him, so that it can, with impunity, turn its back on him completely?

It is surprising, with the muddling paradox of tradition and antitradition at the best colleges, and the indifference of the "public," that America has any decent young composers. But there are a few, like Salvatore Martirano at Illinois, and John Harris Harbison at Harvard, who manage

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somehow to make something of a rather desperate situation, and create music that is quite original and valid, as well as being, as one would expect with such high-powered teaching, technically superior to ninety-nine percent of comparable European music.

Even at Princeton I found one most unhappy attitude prevalent—that one learns composition not so much to be able to compose, but to be able to make a living teaching composition. This was never stated by composition students or by the composition faculty, although some doubtless felt it in the air, but the university administration made this fairly clear. This was as much as admitting that the *real* composer has no *real* function in American society. Nor will he have, until first the orchestras, then the public school education authorities, and eventually the public wake up to the fact that compositionally America has unique potentialities, even if unique problems.

The easiest thing for a composer to do in America is to "sell out." To do this he need only jump on the most fashionable bandwagon (at the moment that of Cage—the Babbitt one is harder, because of the intellectual discipline of the musical style and the perspicacity of Babbitt) and produce "avant-garde" works of acceptable meaninglessness that will divert the coterie for a while. To make up for the lack of musical substance, until recently he had to be fairly articulate in mouthing a pseudophilosophy to justify himself, but now, when inarticulateness is accepted from "artists," this is no longer essential, although he must do his stunts with conviction and think up ever more diverting ones. He cannot help being successful in a bored little society looking for theatrical novelty without effort. (Music takes effort to listen to, and might even be disturbing, but "Cagery" is now sheer entertainment, is never disturbing on any worthwhile level, and makes for lively conversation afterwards.)

It is often said that Shostakovich "sold out" under pressure to the Communist party bosses, but, although his work may be "old-fashioned" and even tasteless sometimes, it is still possible to discuss its intention and result seriously in relation to musical processes. He is still trying to create something meaningful, not playing childish games, or pretending that music really is meaningless. The "betrayal" by some young Americans is far more serious in that it actively demonstrates the lack of function and uselessness of the composer in society. This sort of betrayal is becoming fashionable in Europe, particularly in Germany, but the temptation to avoid all musical issues, to avoid the problem of defining oneself musically, cannot help having universal appeal. It is ironic that Cage's gesture in flouting tradition and society in the forties has been debased into an easy path to comfortable notoriety for "upstarts," but then this was inevitable when Cage was accepted seriously by an influential minority.

There is no easy solution to the dilemma of American composers. As things stand, there are only an ever-widening gulf between the composer in his university and the orchestras, schools and public, and ever more reasons for indulging in the sort of betrayal outlined above. At least, going to America and realizing the gravity of the young American's position helped me to crystallize some of my own compositional problems, and I was particularly grateful for the chance to write a piece for, and to work with, the choir of Princeton High School. This choir, admittedly under a remarkably gifted director, consists of "ordinary" American youngsters, who perform and take a lively and intelligent interest in the most difficult and serious contemporary music. These are not atypical Americans, and they are members of the potential musical public. Dare one see, in such a venture as this choir, some small hope for a more healthy working environment for the young composer?

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I Can't Get That Monster Out of My Mind

JOAN DIDION

Quite early in the action of an otherwise unmemorable monster movie (I do not even remember its name), having to do with a mechanical man who walks underwater down the East River as far as 49th Street and then surfaces to destroy the United Nations, the heroine is surveying the grounds of her country place when the mechanical monster bobs up from a lake and attempts to carry off her child. (Actually we are aware that the monster wants only to make friends with the little girl, but the young mother, who has presumably seen fewer monster movies than we have, is not. This provides pathos, and dramatic tension.) In any case. Later that evening, as the heroine sits on the veranda reflecting upon the day's events, her brother strolls out, tamps his pipe, and asks: "Why the brown study, Deborah?" Deborah smiles, ruefully. "It's nothing, Jim, really," she says. "I just can't get that monster out of my mind."

I just can't get that monster out of my mind. It is a useful line, and one that frequently occurs to me when I catch the tone in which a great many people write or talk about Hollywood. In the popular imagination, the American motion picture industry still represents a kind of mechanical monster, programmed to stifle and destroy all that is interesting and worthwhile and "creative" in the human spirit. As an adjective, the very word "Hollywood" has long been pejorative, and suggestive of something referred to as "the System," a phrase delivered with the same sinister emphasis that James Cagney once lent to "the Syndicate." The System not only strangles talent but poisons the soul, a fact supported by rich webs of lore. Mention Hollywood, and we are keyed to remember Scott Fitzgerald, dying at Malibu, attended only by the gossip columnist Sheilah Graham while he ground out college-weekend movies (he was also writing *The Last Tycoon,* but that is not part of the story); we are conditioned to recall the brightest minds of a generation, deteriorating around the swimming pool at the Garden of Allah while they waited for calls from the Thalberg Building. (Actually it takes a fairly romantic sensibility to discern why the Garden of Allah should have been a more insidious ambiance than the Algonquin, or why the Thalberg Building, and Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, should have been more morally debilitating than the Graybar Building, and *Vanity Fair.* Edmund Wilson, who has this kind of sensibility, has suggested that it has something to do with the weather. Perhaps it does.)

Hollywood the Destroyer. It was essentially a romantic vision, and before long Hollywood was helping actively to perpetuate it: think of Jack Palance, as a movie star finally murdered by the System in *The Big Knife;* think of Judy Garland and James Mason (and of Janet Gaynor and Fredric March before them), their lives blighted by the System, or by the Studio—the two phrases were, when the old major studios still ran Hollywood, more or less interchangeable—in *A Star Is Born.* By now, the corruption and venality and restrictiveness of Hollywood have become such firm tenets of American social faith—and of Hollywood's own image of itself—that I was only mildly surprised, not long ago, to hear a young screenwriter announce that Hollywood was "ruining" him. "As a writer," he added. "As a writer," he had previously written, over a span of ten years in New York, one comedy (as opposed to "comic") novel, several newspaper reviews of other

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people's comedy novels, and a few years' worth of captions for a picture magazine.

Now. It is not surprising that the specter of Hollywood the Destroyer still haunts the rote middle intelligentsia (the monster lurks, I understand, in the wilds between the Thalia and the Museum of Modern Art), or at least those members of it who have not yet perceived the new *chic* conferred upon Hollywood by the *Cahiers du Cinéma* set. (Those who have perceived it adopt an equally extreme position, speculating endlessly about what Vincente Minnelli was up to in *Meet Me In St. Louis,* attending seminars on Nicholas Ray, that kind of thing.) What is surprising is that the monster still haunts Hollywood itself—and Hollywood knows better, knows that the monster was laid to rest, dead of natural causes, some years ago. The Fox back lot is now a complex of office buildings called Century City; Paramount makes not forty movies a year but "Bonanza." What was once The Studio is now a releasing operation, and even the Garden of Allah is no more. Virtually every movie made is an independent production—and is that not what we once wanted? Is that not what we once said could revolutionize American movies? The millenium is here, the era of "fewer and better" motion pictures—and what have we? We have fewer pictures, but not necessarily better pictures. Ask Hollywood why, and Hollywood resorts to murmuring about the monster. It has been, they say, impossible to work "honestly" in Hollywood. Certain things have prevented it. The studios, or what is left of the studios, thwart their every dream. The moneymen conspire against them. New York spirits away their prints before they have finished cutting. They are bound by clichés. There is something wrong with "the intellectual climate." If only they were allowed some freedom, if only they could exercise an individual voice. . . . .

If only. These protests have about them an engaging period optimism, depending as they do upon the Rousseauean premise that most people, left to their own devices, think not in clichés but with originality and brilliance; that most individual voices, once heard, turn out to be voices of beauty and wisdom. I think that we would all agree that a novel is nothing if it is not the expression of an individual voice, of a single view of experience—and how many good or even interesting novels, of the thousands published, appear each year? I doubt that more can be expected of the motion picture industry. Men who do have interesting individual voices are even now making movies in which those voices are heard; I think, this past year, of John Huston's brilliant *The Night of the Iguana,* of Elia Kazan's ponderous but moving *America America,* and, with a good deal less enthusiasm for the voice, of Stanley Kubrick's *Dr. Strangelove.*

But it is not only the "interesting" voices who now have the opportunity to be heard. John Frankenheimer was quoted in *Life* recently as admitting: "You can't call Hollywood 'The Industry' any more. Today we have a chance to put our personal fantasies on film." Frankenheimer's own personal fantasies have included *All Fall Down,* in which we learn that Warren Beatty and Eva Marie Saint are in love when Frankenheimer dissolves to some swans shimmering on a lake, and, this year, *Seven Days In May,* which, in its misapprehension of the way the American power elite thinks and talks and operates (the movie's United States Senator from California, as I recall, habitually drives a Rolls-Royce), appeared to be fantasy in the most clinical sense of that word. Carl Foreman, who, before he was given a chance to put his personal fantasies on film, worked on some very good movies—*High Noon* and *The Guns of Navarone,* for two—this year released what he called his "personal statement": *The Victors,* a phenomenon which suggests only that two heads are perhaps better than one, if that one is Foreman's.

One problem is that American directors, with a handful of notable exceptions, are not much interested in style; they are at heart didactic. Ask what they plan to do with their absolute freedom, with their chance to make a personal statement, and they will pick an "issue," a "problem." The "issues" they pick are generally no longer

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real issues, if indeed they ever were—but I think it a mistake to attribute this to any calculated venality, to any conscious playing it safe. (I am reminded of a screenwriter who has just this year discovered dwarfs—although he, with the rest of us, must have lived through that period when dwarfs, those symbols of modern man's crippling anomie, turned up on the fiction pages of the glossier magazines with the approximate frequency that Suzy Parker turned up on the advertising pages. There is a certain cultural lag.) Call it instead—this apparent calculation about what "issues" are now safe—an absence of imagination, a sloppiness of mind in some ways encouraged by a comfortable feedback from the audience, from the bulk of the reviewers, and from some people who ought to know better. Stanley Kramer's *Judgment at Nuremburg,* made in 1961, was an intrepid indictment not of authoritarianism in the abstract, not of the trials themselves, not of the various moral and legal issues involved, but of Nazi war atrocities, about which there would have seemed already to be some consensus. (You may remember that *Judgment* received an Academy Award, which the screenwriter Abby Mann accepted on the behalf of all "intellectuals.") Kramer and Abby Mann are now finishing *Ship of Fools,* into which they have injected "a little more compassion and humor" and in which they have advanced the action from 1931 to 1933—suggesting (to me, anyway) that they are about to register another defiant protest against the National Socialist Party. Foreman's *The Victors* sets forth, interminably, the proposition that war defeats the victors equally with the vanquished, a notion not exactly radical. (Foreman is a director who at first gives the impression of having a little style, but the impression is entirely spurious, and prompted mostly by his total recall for old Eisenstein effects.) Even *Dr. Strangelove,* which does have a little style, is scarcely a movie of relentless intellectual originality; we have rarely seen so much made over so little. John Simon, in the *New Leader,* declared that the "altogether admirable thing" about *Dr. Strangelove* was that it managed to be "thoroughly irreverent about everything the Establishment takes seriously: atomic war, government, the army, international relations, heroism, sex, and what not." I don't know who Simon thinks makes up the Establishment, but, skimming back at random from "what not," sex is our most durable communal joke; Billy Wilder's *One, Two, Three* was a boffo (*c.f. Variety*) spoof of international relations; the army as a laugh line has filtered right down to Phil Silvers and "Sergeant Bilko"; and, if "government" is something about which the American Establishment is inflexibly reverent, I seem to have been catching some pretty underground material on prime time television. And what not. Except for such wild Terry Southern throwaways as the "mutiny of pre-verts," *Dr. Strangelove* is essentially a one-line gag, having to do with the difference between all other wars and nuclear war. By the time George Scott has said "I think I'll mosey on over to the War Room" and Sterling Hayden has said "Looks like we've got ourselves a shootin' war" and the SAC bomber has begun heading for its Soviet targets to the tune of "When Johnny Comes Marching Home Again," Kubrick has already developed a full fugue upon the theme, and should have started counting the minutes until it would begin to pall.

What we have, then, are a few interesting minds at work; a great many less interesting ones. The situation in Europe seems to me to be about the same. Antonioni, in Italy, makes beautiful, intelligent, intricately and subtly built movies, the power of which lies entirely in their structure; Visconti, on the other hand, has less sense of form than anyone now directing. One might as well have viewed a series of stills, in no perceptible order, as his *The Leopard.* Federico Fellini and Ingmar Bergman share a stunning visual intelligence and a numbingly banal view of human experience; Alain Resnais, in *Last Year at Marienbad* and *Muriel,* demonstrates a style so irritatingly intrusive that it takes some time to realize that the style is all there is to the movie, that it intrudes upon

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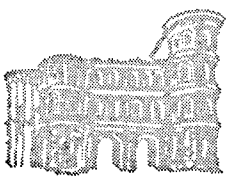

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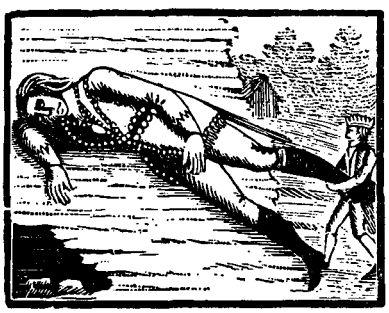
a total vacuum. As for the notion that European movies tend to be more original than American movies, no one who saw *Boccaccio '70* could ever again have the nerve automatically to modify the word "formula" with "Hollywood."

So. With perhaps a little prodding from abroad, we are all grown up now in Hollywood, and left to set out in the world on our own. We are no longer in the grip of a monster; Harry Cohn no longer runs Paramount, as the saying went, like a concentration camp. Whether or not a picture receives an M.P.A.A. Code seal no longer much matters at the box office. No more curfew, no more Daddy; *anything goes.* Some of us do not quite like this permissiveness; some of us would like to find "reasons" why our pictures are not as good as we know in our hearts they might be. Not long ago I met a producer who complained to me of the difficulties he had working within what I recognized as the System, although he did not call it that. He longed, he said, to do an adaptation of a certain Charles Jackson short story. "Some really terrific stuff," he said. "About masturbation. Can't touch it, I'm afraid."

I'm afraid he can't. And I was reminded of the last line of that C.P. Cavafy poem in which the speaker—told and retold and eventually convinced that the barbarians who have haunted the city's gates for decades are no longer there, suddenly vanished from the gates, mysteriously in retreat—finally murmurs with some regret: "And now what shall become of us without any barbarians? Those people were a kind of solution."



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Laughter in the Dark

The New Voice in American Fiction

IHAB HASSAN

The sound of absurd laughter crackles in the theaters Off Broadway, and the sick joke or Addamsy cartoon has rippled across the American prairie. In movie houses, *Dr. Strangelove* packs the audiences in. Everywhere, the spirit of gallows humor dances crazily on the wind. Even fiction now booms or howls as the stately voice of Henry James would never have permitted itself. The booms and howls of fiction, however, are themselves of manifold register; when the imagination breaks forth in laughter, laughter assumes many voices. Let us not presume, therefore, to discover unity where none exists. And yet consider this selection of novels: Bellow's *Henderson the Rain King,* Ellison's *Invisible Man,* Capote's *Breakfast at Tiffany's,* Cheever's *The Wapshot Chronicle,* Purdy's *Malcolm,* and Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye.* Does not slapstick sometimes echo in them as a scream heard in a nightmare? Better still, consider the cruel japes and gags of some younger novelists: Joseph Heller, Thomas Berger, J. P. Donleavy and Thomas Pynchon. There is dark laughter in their fiction, a good deal of bitterness, and some madness too. Is it the death, then, or the rebirth of comedy that is at hand?

It is, I believe, the birth of a new sense of reality, a new knowledge of error and of incongruity, an affirmation of life under the aspect of comedy. For comedy, broadly conceived, may be understood as *a way of making life possible in this world, despite evil or death.* Comedy recognizes human limitations, neither in broken pride nor yet in saintly humility but in the spirit of ironic acceptance. It is, therefore, the antic child of realism.

Danger, which has made us tightrope walkers to the future, may also make clowns of us all. Yet clowns can have skill and vision too. They can unite horror and slapstick and make men laugh in order to live. This is something that novelists know well, although their critics do not always say so.

The contemporary world does not offer occasions for authentic tragedy—or so the rumor runs. The hero of Miller's *Death of a Salesman* is a sad and broken man, probably more pathetic than tragic. The heroes of our fiction, likewise, are not larger than life. At best, they are rogues with a heart or winsome adolescents—like Holden Caulfield or Holly Golightly. At worst, they are victims with a purpose—like most of us. Bemused by incongruities, besieged in their private as in their social life, they do not stand tall with the dignity of Achilles or Odysseus. Their conflicts seldom allow for final resolutions. This is the way our world strikes the novelist, and no other is yet known to him.

It is no great wonder that younger novelists are now more anxious to respond to the incoherence of life, to its openness. They are relearning the old art of improvisation in fiction; they cultivate the picaresque or fantastic modes; they are repelled by the neat formulations of style or structure that formalist critics once pressed too hard. Their sense of order admits of potential disorder. In short, they have acquired a tolerance for the mixed, causeless quality of experience: its loose ends, its broken links, its surprises and reversals. Knowing how outrageous facts can be, they do not pretend to subdue them with a flourish and a symbol.

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The effects of this new comic realism in American fiction are already apparent. Realism, in fact, seems to be introduced through the back door, cloaked in the surrealism of slapstick or nightmare. Bawdiness and even obscenity abound, recalling our attention to the corporeality of man, to his instinctual being. Chance and improvisation are accepted, not simply as a source of humor but also as a critique of social goals, values and traditions. Chance, which defies the rigid predictability of contemporary life, restores a measure of individual freedom. This is sometimes carried so far, in the works of Mailer or Kerouac, as to betray an anarchic impulse masked in tomfoolery. The new comic spirit, we see, is a mixture of boisterousness and bitterness, hope and despair. It is quite simply a reaction to the concrete situation of modern man. Despite its grim, absurd or surreal contortions, the reaction, I believe, is a positive one. The new comedy may find a way of restoring sanity through madness or buffoonery. And by restoring our faith in the surface of life, the simple and tangible things of this world from which tragedy removes itself finally, it may find a way of tightening the bonds of love. Who knows but behind the leering mask of the jester may be concealed the old face of American innocence, vulnerable and responsive?

There are, of course, precedents in modern literature to this development of comedy. Dostoevski's *Notes from Underground* and *The Possessed,* two books that I have always considered a kind of manifesto of the modern disorderly sensibility, resound with grotesque or demonic laughter. The works of Joyce, Kafka and Gide are full of comedy both clownish and satanic. And the fiction of Sartre, Malraux and Camus shows how comedy vanishes behind the mask of irony, revealing the latter as an intellectual grimace, its true emblem a grinning skull. Modern European literature, which is largely existential, is really a raucous record of absurd laughter.

In America, the comic spirit has taken both parallel and divergent forms. The gothic or supernatural strain in classic American fiction, black with laughter, has been brilliantly noted by Leslie Fiedler. Faulkner extends this strain well into the twentieth century. Stories like "A Rose for Emily"—the proud woman who kills her lover and lies in bed by his putrefying corpse for forty years—and novels like *Sanctuary* and *As I Lay Dying* make capital use of macabre humor. Even in his jaunty series of books about the acquisitive Snopes family, *The Hamlet, The Town* and *The Mansion,* Faulkner shows that burlesque, whether in horse or wife trading, may serve as a thin disguise for chilling malevolence. (In *The Reivers,* however, comedy becomes once again a little more broad and good-humored; a boy, a Negro, and a brawny simpleton bounce down the road in a stolen car, board in a brothel, and try to make a fortune on horse betting.) But Faulkner is not alone in exploiting this particular strain of comedy in our time. Sherwood Anderson, that woeful master of the grotesque, focused on the poetry of deviation and infirmity and on their humor. A satirist and surrealist both, Nathanael West revealed in his stories about Hollywood or Manhattan freaks a unique gift for torture-house parody. And Henry Miller, a more sanguine surrealist, seems often at his best when translating acute pain into impish or ribald pleasure. In all this, however, I would not claim that the comic spirits of Europe and America show identical developments; nor would I say that the comic strain I have isolated subsumes the varieties of comedy on both continents. My purpose, rather, is simply to observe a common and powerful event of the modern imagination: the deflection of laughter toward anguish.

A rapid glance at more recent American fiction shows a wide variety of comic attitudes, all reflecting the intricacies of the new laughter. The gamut of these attitudes runs from nightmare to sheer slapstick. And yet the twisted shape of humor betokens in every case the will to criticize life and still to confirm it.

The obsessive humor of the horror story is familiar to anyone who has seen Poe or Hitchcock in action: it is very much akin to the mournful frolic of nightmare. Its aim, however, is not only sensational. In

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the hands of such writers as John Hawkes or William Burroughs, it underscores the fact that insanity or evil often puts on an antic disposition. Comedy moves into the midnight terrain where Macbeth met the witches, and there it reckons with the surreal forces of human desires. But the witches' heath may also lie in the heart of a modern city. There guilt and atonement —witness the Jew and Gentile who haunt one another in Bellow's *The Victim*—stage a comedy of errors, at times both ludicrous and horrible.

If there is much warping in nightmare, there is only a little less in the grotesque figures who populate the fiction of Eudora Welty, Flannery O'Connor, Carson McCullers and James Purdy. The aim of these writers is to describe spiritual distortion in our time; in so doing they focus on physical distortion. The one incarnates the other. They create freaks of love or loneliness, or monsters of holiness. (Hazel Motes, for instance, in Miss O'Connor's *Wise Blood,* is a preacher in the "Church Without Christ," an ascetic who blinds himself with quicklime and wears barbed wire next to his skin, yet who is a murderer too.) But freaks and monsters are the subject of veiled mockery; their abnormality shocks and shames us into ironic laughter. This is why the comedy of the grotesque often seems acerb. Only children can laugh at hunchbacks or fanatics with glee. Adults learn to transform their discomfort into irony, which serves to domesticate the monsters roaming the inner landscapes of the soul.

The ironic attitude lies close to the satiric. In the latter, the object of attention is not the monstrous, which is irremediable, but rather the follies or vices of man, things merely reprehensible. There is a combination of both attitudes in the comedy of Nabokov's *Lolita;* its hero still thinks of himself as a grotesque monster. But when satire appears in more pure forms, as it does in the fiction of Mary McCarthy, we are already moving toward the sunnier reaches of comedy. The scalpel is still sharp, but the caricatures of artists or academics to which it is applied are not altogether beyond hope. Their foibles are ours, and in our heart of hearts few of us consider ourselves beyond redemption.

It is this possibility of regeneration that we sense in diverse characters, rogues and innocents abroad, who masquerade as the descendants of gaunt Don Quixote. There is, to be sure, something quixotic and whimsical about them, an idea or illusion raised to the condition of truth. But there is also a good deal of bitter passion, as in Ellison's *Invisible Man,* about the Negro whom everyone manages not to see; or moral disgust, as in Donleavy's *The Ginger Man,* about the bawdy heel who boozes on the milk money of his children until they develop rickets. Comedy in these books can still have a rasping noise. Even in such zany and genuinely humorous "picaresques" as Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye* and Capote's *Breakfast at Tiffany's,* which move us farther from bitter comedy, laughter trails into a wistful tremor. It is, of course, nostalgia, not nightmare, that in their case qualifies our joy. The smile on our lips is sad. Perhaps it is only Saul Bellow who carries comedy over the barrier of human loss, surmounting the bitterness and the doubt. Augie March, that "Columbus of the near-at-hand," and Henderson, too, know pain and error; but they also know the *animal ridens* and they refuse to lead "a disappointed life."

The unrelieved exuberance of life comes through in a number of novels that make large use of fantasy and burlesque. Cheever's *The Wapshot Chronicle,* about a daft and indestructible Yankee family, attests to the continuities of human existence under the aspect of whimsy. Berger's *Reinhart In Love* employs farce and madcap humor to convey the abundance of love. And the buffoonery of Heller's *Catch-22* settles for nothing less than sanity and freedom. The sense of release, of possibility, is very large in these novelists. But we should be doing their spirit violence were we to ignore their undertone of individual and even anarchic protest. The last two novels hold society, its norms, pieties and organizations, in suspicion: neither Reinhart nor Yossarian will accept anything but the Self as sacred. It

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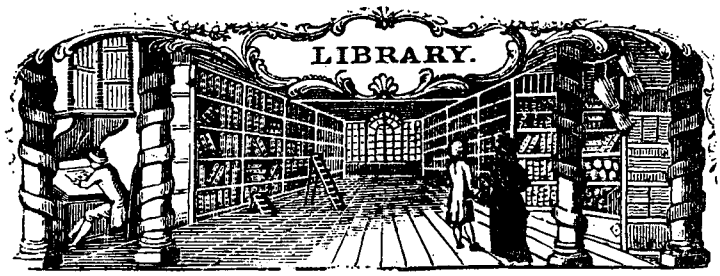
is as if comedy, finally freed from the dark constraints of the modern world, had suddenly overreached itself to the borders of chaos. But even chaos is sometimes apt.

There are, of course, many other novelists—John Updike, Philip Roth, Herbert Gold, Norman Mailer, Jack Kerouac, *et cetera*—who make their own singular contributions to comedy. But my aim was not to be inclusive. It was rather to convey some sense of the richness of the comic spirit in our time, and to observe the spectrum of attitudes that it has assumed. For, in a sense, the two works by Burroughs and Heller that I have named do not stand far apart: our path through comic attitudes has brought us from nightmare to slapstick and back again.

And this is precisely the point. Nightmare and slapstick do meet in that surreal, comic vision that, recognizing the discrepancies in human life, expresses and mediates them. The new comic spirit, I have already said, deflects humor toward anguish. But like the tragedies of yore the new comedy also purges and cleanses. Its purgation is achieved through a comic recognition of the absurd. The Fool of tradition, as everyone knows, was a mischievous and holy man, and pain was imprinted on his funny face. The rituals of which he was a part are even more ancient. As a Scapegoat, he carried away evil and death. As Reviler and Confuser, he forced the community to defend its most cherished beliefs with force or wit. We could not recapture his wisdom or jollity without experiencing the ambiguous range of his agony.

One is finally led to ask why it is that contemporary fiction still subsists in a twilit region of the public scene. Faulkner and Hemingway are now dead—in my admiration of them, I conceded to no one. It seems that the end of an era of American fiction has been marked. But what of the next? The vital theater of Albee and Gelber has begun to catch our eye. What of the novel? Recent fiction has not lacked astute and sympathetic critics. Some of them, like R. W. B. Lewis, are justly well known; others, like Earl Rovit or Paul Levine, may become better known soon. It may be that the new spirit of comedy in our fiction will serve to heal some rifts between the author and his audience, proving to the latter that all is not dearth or despondency in literature. The serious writer—he is not so rare as he is rumored to be—who can also be affirmative these days faces a grave task. The great temptation he must resist is this: that dark laughter may freeze on his face, may turn into a sophisticated leer or a knowing grimace. That way decadence lies. There are still no substitutes for a passionate sense of life.



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Modernist Painting and Formal Criticism

MICHAEL FRIED

. . . vous n'êtes que le premier dans la décrépitude de votre art.
—Baudelaire to Manet, 1865

For twenty years or more almost all the best new painting and sculpture in the world have been done in America; I am referring to the work of artists such as Pollock, deKooning, Kline, Motherwell, Newman, Still, Frankenthaler, Rothko, Gottlieb, Hofmann, Louis, Noland, Olitski, Frank Stella and David Smith, to name only some of the best. I think it could be argued, in fact, that the flowering of painting and, to a much lesser degree, of sculpture that has taken place in this country since the end of the Second World War is comparable to that which occurred in American poetry in the two decades after 1912, regarding both the quality of the work produced and what might be called its intrinsic difficulty. The new poetry, however, found the criticism it deserved relatively soon, in the work of men like Blackmur, Ransom, Tate and others, while the critical essays of Eliot and Pound, although often not dealing with the new poetry itself, expounded many of its fundamental assumptions.

It is one of the most important facts about the contemporary situation in the visual arts that the fundamental character of the new art has not, in spite of the essays of Clement Greenberg, been adequately understood. This is not altogether surprising. Unlike poets, painters and sculptors rarely practice criticism, and the job of writing about art has tended to pass by default to men and women who are in no way qualified for their profession. Moreover, the visual skills necessary to come to grips with the new painting and sculpture are perhaps even more rare than the verbal skills demanded by the new poetry.

But if the inadequacy of almost all contemporary art criticism is not surprising, it is undeniably ironic, because the visual arts —painting especially—have never been more explicitly self-critical than during the past twenty years. In this essay I want to attempt an exposition of what, to my mind, are some of the most important characteristics of the new art. At the same time I will try to show why formal criticism, such as that practiced by Roger Fry or Mr. Greenberg, is better able to throw light upon the new art than any other approach. To do this, I will have to consider more than once the development over the past hundred years of what Mr. Greenberg calls "modernist" painting, because the work of the artists mentioned above represents, in an important sense, the extension in this country of a kind of painting that began in France with the work of Édouard Manet. Sculpture is, to a certain extent, another story, and for reasons of space and simplicity I will not consider it here.

Roughly speaking, the history of painting from Manet through Synthetic Cubism and Matisse may be characterized in terms of the gradual withdrawal of painting from the task of representing reality—or of reality from the power of painting to represent it—in favor of an increasing preoccupation with problems intrinsic to painting itself. One may deplore, if one chooses, the decision of critics such as Mr. Fry and Mr. Greenberg to concentrate their attention upon the formal characteristics of the works they discuss; but no one can doubt that the painters whose work they most esteem on formal grounds—Manet, the Impressionists, Seurat, Cézanne, Picasso, Braque, Matisse, Léger—are among the finest painters of the past hundred years. This is not to imply that only the formal aspect of their paintings is worthy of interest. On the contrary, because recognizable objects, persons and

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places are never entirely expunged from their canvases, contextual criticism can add significantly to our understanding by investigating the role these play in their art. But contextual criticism has shown itself to be unable to make convincing discriminations of value among the works of a particular artist; and in this century it often happens that those paintings that are most full of explicit human content can be faulted on formal grounds—Picasso's *"Guernica"* is the most conspicuous example—in comparison with others virtually devoid of such content.

It is worth adding that there is nothing binding in the value judgments of formal criticism. All judgments of value begin in experience, or ought to, and if someone does not feel that Manet's *"Déjeuner sur l'herbe,"* Matisse's *"La Leçon de Piano"* or Pollock's "Autumn Rhythm" are fine paintings, there is nothing in the arguments of formal criticism that will force him to feel it. On the other hand, one's experiences of works of art are always informed by what one has come to understand about them; and it is the special burden of the formal critic both to objectify his intuitions with all the intellectual rigor at his command, and to be on his guard against enlisting a formalist rhetoric in the defense of merely private enthusiasms.

It is also imperative that the formal critic bear in mind at all times that the objectivity he aspires toward can be no more than relative. But his detractors would do well to bear in mind themselves that his aspirations toward objectivity are given force and relevance by the tendency of the most important current in painting since Manet to concern itself increasingly and with growing self-awareness with formal problems and issues. When Mr. Hilton Kramer, writing in *Arts Magazine* (October, 1962) the most intelligent and serious review of Clement Greenberg's *Art and Culture* that I have seen, complains that:

> In Mr. Greenberg's criticism, the impersonal process of history appears in the guise of an inner artistic logic, which has its own immutable laws of development and to which works of art must conform if they are not to end up on the

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historical ash heap. This inner artistic logic is purely a matter of the relations that obtain among abstract forms arranged in a decorative pattern. . . .

it is not entirely clear whether he is objecting more to a style of argument or to the modernist painting that Mr. Greenberg admires. In any case, his characterization of the former seems to me mistaken at several crucial points.

Nowhere in *Art and Culture* does its author appear to have forgotten that history, works of art, and essays in art criticism are all made by men, who live at a particular moment in history and whose perceptions and values are, therefore, no more than relative. There is, in a sense, "an inner artistic logic" in Mr. Greenberg's view of the history of modernist painting in France and America; but it is a "logic" that has come about as the result of decisions made by individual artists to engage with formal problems thrown up by the art of the recent past—decisions and formal problems that Mr. Greenberg has done more than any other critic to elucidate. Moreover, the element of internal "logic" in the development of modernist painting can be perceived only in retrospect, and I can think of no passage in *Art and Culture* that so much as hints at the existence of "immutable laws" that govern its unfolding. If a critic thought such laws existed, he would surely use them to predict what the modernist art of the future is going to look like. But there are no predictions in Mr. Greenberg's book, only repeated attempts—the most successful of which are exemplary—to objectify his experience of painting and sculpture in terms that derive from these media alone.

Elsewhere in his review Mr. Kramer maintains that Mr. Greenberg has employed "a principle of historical development drawn from Marx" to defend "a point of view which is completely hostage to the New York School." My own impression is rather that, starting from his experience of the works of Pollock, deKooning, Newman and others, Mr. Greenberg has come increasingly to perceive their relation to the modernist painting that pre-

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ceded them. But I think there is an insight in Mr. Kramer's reference to Marx which deserves some discussion.

Starting with Heinrich Wölfflin, critics of style have tended to rely on a fundamentally Hegelian conception of art history, in which styles are described as succeeding one another in accord with an internal dynamic or dialectic, rather than in response to social, economic and political developments in society at large. One of the stock objections, in fact, to exclusively stylistic or formal criticism of the art of the past—for example, of the High Renaissance—is that it fails to deal with the influence of nonartistic factors upon the art of the time, and as a result is unable both to elucidate the full meaning of individual works and to put forward a convincing account of stylistic change. Such an objection, however, derives the real but limited validity it possesses from the fact that painting and sculpture during the Renaissance were deeply involved, regarding patronage and iconography, with both the Church and State. But by the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth, advanced artists were being forced to survive on virtually no patronage or sales whatever, and it was probably inevitable that, having been abandoned by society, their imagery became more and more personal and their art more and more concerned with problems and issues intrinsic to itself.

All this has, of course, been recounted before. But what has not been sufficiently recognized is that in the face of these developments the same objections that are effective when directed against exclusively formal criticism of Italian High Renaissance painting lose almost all their force and relevance. In comparison with what may be said in precise detail about the relations between High Renaissance art and the Church and State, only the most general statements—such as this one—may be made about the relation between modernist painting and modern society. In a sense, modernist art in this century finished what society in the nineteenth began: the alienation of the artist from the general preoccupations of the culture in which he is embedded, and the prizing loose of art itself from the concerns, aims and ideals of that culture. With the achievements of Cubism in the first and second decades of this century, if not before, painting and sculpture became free to pursue concerns intrinsic to their respective media. Stylistic change within modernist art can now be adequately accounted for by the decisions of individual artists to engage with particular formal problems thrown up by the art of the recent past; the fundamentally Hegelian conception of art history that is at work in the writings of Wölfflin and Greenberg, whatever its limitations may be when applied to the art of the past, corresponds remarkably well with the actual development of modernism in the visual arts, painting especially.

I am arguing, then, that something like a dialectic of modernism has in fact been at work in the visual arts, painting more than sculpture, for roughly a century now; and by dialectic I mean what is essential in Hegel's conception of historical progression, as expounded in this century by the Marxist philosopher Georg Lukacs in his great work, *History and Class Consciousness,* and by the late Maurice Merleau-Ponty in numerous books and essays. More than anything else, the dialectic in the hands of these men is an ideal of action as radical criticism founded upon as objective an understanding of one's present situation as one is able to achieve. There is nothing in the least teleological about such an ideal: it does not aim toward a predetermined end, unless its complete incarnation in action can be called an end. But such an incarnation would mean the establishing of a condition of perpetual revolution, perpetual radical criticism of the existing state of affairs.

It is no wonder this ideal could not be achieved in the realm of politics; but it seems to me that the entire development of modernist painting has been toward a state of affairs that could be described in these terms. This development has not been toward any particular style of painting, although at any moment—including the present one—one particular kind of painting

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is more advanced, more radical in its criticisms and will prove more fecund in its results than any other kind. The chief function of the dialectic of modernism in the visual arts has been to provide a principle by which painting can change, transform and renew itself, and by which it is enabled to perpetuate virtually intact, and sometimes even enriched, through each epoch of self-renewal, those of its traditional values that do not pertain directly to illustration and representation. Thus modernist painting preserves what it can of its own history, not as an act of piety toward the past but as a source of value in the present and future.

For this reason it is especially ironic that modernist art is often described as nihilistic and its artists characterized as irresponsible charlatans. In fact, the strains under which they work are enormous, and it is no wonder that, in one way or another, many of the finest modernist painters have cracked up under them. This tendency toward breakdown has been intensified in the past twenty years by the quickening that has taken place in the rate of self-transformation within modernism itself—a quickening that, in turn, has been the result of a general increase in formal and historical self-awareness on the part of modernist artists. The work of such painters as Barnett Newman, Kenneth Noland and Frank Stella not only arises out of their personal interpretations of the particular situations in which advanced painting found itself at crucial moments in their respective developments; their work also looks to present and future developments in modernist painting to provide what will be either its justification or a demonstration of its irrelevance. "History, according to Hegel, is the maturation of a future in the present, not the sacrifice of the present to an unknown future, and the rule of action according to him is not to be effective at any price, but above all to be fecund," Merleau-Ponty has written (the translation is mine). In exactly this sense, the ultimate criterion of the legitimacy of a putative advance in modernist painting is its fecundity.

But if one seeks to apply this formulation to the art of the recent past, one must

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bear in mind that the finest contemporary painting—the work of Noland, Olitski and Stella, among others—testifies to the fecundity not only of the art of Barnett Newman around 1950, but to that of Abstract Expressionism, and that this is the case because of, not in spite of, the fact that Newman's art amounts to the most radical criticism imaginable of the latter.

One upshot of the foregoing is that modernism in the visual arts has gone a long way toward effacing the traditional distinction between problems in morals and problems in art formulated by Professor Stuart Hampshire in his essay "Logic and Appreciation" as follows: "A work of art is gratuitous. It is not *essentially* the answer to a question or the solution to a presented problem." Whereas "action in response to any moral problem is not gratuitous; it is imposed; that there should be some response is absolutely necessary. One cannot pass by a situation; one must pass *through* it in one way or another."

Professor Hampshire's distinction holds good, I think, for all art except the kind I have been trying in this essay to define. Once a painter who accepts the basic premises of modernism becomes aware of a particular problem thrown up by the art of the recent past, his action is no longer gratuitous, but imposed. He may be mistaken in his assessment of the situation. But as long as he believes such a problem exists and is important, he is confronted by a situation he cannot pass by and that, in some way or other, he must pass through; and the result of this forced passage will be his art.

This means that while modernist painting itself has increasingly divorced itself from the concerns of the society in which it precariously flourishes, the actual dialectic by which it is made has taken on more and more of the denseness, structure and complexity of moral experience, that is, of life itself, but life lived as few are inclined to live it: in a state of continuous intellectual and moral alertness.

In this sense, the formal critic of modernist painting is also a moral critic, not because all art is at bottom a criticism of life, but because modernist painting is at least a criticism of itself. And because this is so, criticism that shares the basic premises of modernist painting can play a role in its development only somewhat less important than that of new paintings themselves. Not only ought the formal critic to expound the significance of new painting that seems to him genuinely exploratory, and to distinguish between such painting and work that seems merely to exploit the formal innovations of prior modernists, but in discussing the work of painters he admires, he can point out flaws in putative solutions to particular formal problems; he is even justified in calling the attention of modernist painters to formal issues that, in his opinion, demand to be grappled with. It may be argued that this is an intolerably arrogant conception of the critic's job of work, and perhaps it is. But it has the virtue of forcing the critic who takes it up to run the same risks as the artist whose work he criticizes. In view of this last point it is not surprising that so few critics have chosen to assume its burdens.

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American Architecture Today

WILLIAM SHELLMAN

The architectural scene in the United States today is characterized by complexities and qualities that make a survey of it not only interesting but uniquely difficult. The postwar years have seen a building boom and an architectural ferment unequalled in every respect, and the quantity of building across the country is enormous. A great increase in the scope of the services an architect is prepared to give is also characteristic of the period. Seldom modest in the appraisal of their value to the community, architects now claim a wide province and see themselves as shapers of environments as contrasting in size as rooms and regions. All are willing, and many have tried their hands at things as different from each other as chairs and cities.

Never before have there been so many kinds of buildings requiring architects' attention, and never has there been so enormous a technical resource at their disposal. American architects are employed all over the world in every kind of climate, and they are supported by an impressive financial affluence and a public surprisingly hungry for the new and original.

One would assume that this situation constituted an atmosphere in which the most varied and imaginative architecture ever known could flourish. It would seem to offer the necessary precondition for the greatest variety, yet this appears not to be the case. Reports of architects, critics and architectural educators have called the scene both confusing and chaotic.

So great and involved a subject has many aspects, but here there is space to deal briefly with only one. It is the disturbing disappearance of much of the primary architectural imagination. There can be little doubt that the range of architectural expression has not kept pace with the increase of new functions to be housed and new techniques and materials. A present poverty of the architectural imagination has replaced what seemed in the past an inexhaustible capacity for imaginative renewal. World Fairs have traditionally provided an opportunity for a free play of significant architectural originality. The New York Fair of 1964 is composed almost without exception of designs that are vaguely secondhand or vapidly exhibitionistic.

During the first quarter of this century a race of giants appeared and made an architectural revolution. They broke out of the prevalent historic eclecticism and created an entirely new architecture. And since that time no new generation has appeared to replace Sullivan, Garnier, Wright, Loos, Behrens, Mies van der Rohe, Gropius, and Le Corbusier. Little of significant originality has been added to their work. Followers have elaborated and refined their innovations, but they are overshadowed, even dominated, by the influence. Most work of exploration today is tentative, restless, unsure and often academic. The new freedom of 1910, the new problems and materials, are more feared than welcomed, and many architects have sought safe positions. Too often refuge is found in "stylism" and a new historicism. The controls of function as generator of form that were established earlier are now relaxed. This principle which proved itself capable of regeneration is forgotten or not held to be true. New architecture reveals an undisciplined individualism which sidesteps the work of creative effort. It does violence to function, it is antirational and mute.

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In an age of abundance the architectural vocabulary has shrunk to a minimum size and suffers a paralysis of intuition. A nation of great physical size and contrasts is overlaid by buildings of boring similarity, and a blighted land-use of a devastating and vulgar uniformity.

Since men's imaginative and intellectual powers have not altered in a generation, the range of architectural expression must be due to the nature of the ideas that control the making of architecture. They must be limited, if not wrong. Pseudoprinciples in architecture, like ideologies in the political sphere, result in dislocations and a stasis of invention. If men's actions are governed by the ideas they hold, our present confusions must be the outcome of critical ideas that are faulty. A brief analysis of these ideas, their origins as well as how they affect architecture today in the contrasting work of a few men who represent the widest view, would seem worthwhile.

In past and less complex times, an architect solving an architectural problem began within the helpful limitations of a tradition. His designing action, or the mental process of deciding what to do, was limited to altering existing forms and the relationships between them. A fifth-century Greek or a French architect of the twelfth or eighteenth century, when standing before or inside an existing building, must have suffered a twinge of dissatisfaction at what he saw. The forms before him or around him did not equate with what his intuition told him would be satisfying. The designing procedure was one of closing a gap between what had been done and what he felt from his experience would be a better plan arrangement, better forms, colors, qualities of light, and the like. This gap-closing is the vivid and continuous experience of all serious architects and artists. It is the central fact of all inventive and creative action. It was in this manner that new solutions continuously evolved. The equation between ever-changing experience, its attendant and unique emotion, and the expression of that emotion was always maintained. Feeling was given form and made clear. Architecture was ever renewed. This way of working was instinctively and intuitively employed by architects almost without interruption until the last half of the eighteenth century, and at about that time a break occurred.

For more than a century before the break in continuity, the claims of natural philosophy as the only means to knowledge were gaining general acceptance. This view was accompanied by another: that those forms of experience that gave rise to art and religion were no longer sound. Because the arts couldn't teach facts, John Locke thought that they were a waste of time. Enlightened man saw art as a form of play appropriate only to man's infancy. Edward Gibbon could give only "a contemptuous glance at the monument of superstition." The curious relic he glanced at was the Cathedral at Amiens.

The collapse of eighteenth-century rationalism was inevitable, as too many aspects of existence were denied or refused. When reestablished, they were out of order. One of the dominant concepts of Romanticism was an interest in emotion as an end in itself, and this had curious architectural manifestations which other arts seem to have escaped.

The traditional way of making designs was no longer practiced. The nostalgia of architects and clients for the incredible past, recently rediscovered, caused them to mine it for their designs. Horace Walpole chose "charming" and "venerable" Gothick for its "whimsical novelty" and power "to raise the imagination to sublime enthusiasm and soften the heart to poetic melancholy." Architecture here is nothing more than amusing stimulation. "Gothick" Fonthill Abbey helped its *nouveau riche* owner, William Beckford, to play alternately at being a medieval nobleman and a moonstruck troubadour. The Pavilion at Brighton, a mélange of elements from "east of Suez . . . where there aren't no Ten Commandments," stimulated sentiments more proper to a polygamous maharaja than to "The Defender of the Faith." Ludwig II of Bavaria ordered a Grail Castle in whose Great Hall he pretended to be Lohengrin,

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while at its other end a "Byzantine" Hall of Justice aroused in him feelings appropriate to Justinian. Each example was deliberately chosen to bring about a known or preconceived end, to arouse, to stimulate specific daydreams. Napoleon, on the other hand, erected huge Roman forms to identify his dynasty with an imperial past; architecture here became pure propaganda. Lesser fry followed these examples.

Preconceived states of mind can be aroused only by known forms. To achieve these forms does not exercise the creative faculty—that faculty is no longer required. Architecture, like many who commissioned it, thus lost contact with life. Sentiment and wish-fulfillment replaced feeling, and architecture was judged good when it could arouse emotion. Before, it had come into existence in a process that had neutralized emotion. New forms come to life only in the objectification of feeling, and Romantic architecture and subsequent eclecticism employed a reversal of this manner of working.

It was John Ruskin more than anyone else who led the reaction against the architecture of moods and daydreams. It was his intention to direct the restoration of noble building. He reasoned that if art and literature are the incarnation of the mentality of the race that made it, then good architecture could appear only in a good society. He set out to reform England, but, being in a hurry, he was unwilling to wait for the necessary preconditions. He directed the designing and building of the Oxford Museum but felt that it was a failure and returned to his writing. His less thoughtful disciples did not give up, and covered the Anglo-Saxon world and its possessions with so-called Venetian or Early English Gothic, forms Ruskin thought had reflected good societies. The Dream of Moral Virtue is more worthy and high-minded than the Dream of Romance it replaced, but as an architectural theory it was partial and could not call forth significant originality and architectural excellence. "Ruskinian" building suffered the usual characteristics of propaganda—a second-handedness.

Many buildings realized in these two periods are important as historical "docu-

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ments," but this must not blind us to the fact that the conditions surrounding their origin were new, and this difference seems to be one that subverts architecture and is a reversal of the proper order of dependence. This is not to say that daydreams, private or public, are unimportant, or that architecture is not concerned with morals or social improvement, but none of these alone embodies the essence of architecture as their various champions claimed.

The equation of artistic value with utilitarian ends, and the problem of relationship between art and morality are not new. Plato dealt with the idea when he excluded the unpredictable and socially disturbing poet from the Ideal State. He saw the arts as valuable only when their admitted powers could be directed toward the making of good citizens. Art in the service of a defined and known end must always be secondhand, and creativity suffers as the official art and architecture of Nazi Germany and the U.S.S.R. show so clearly.

Those aspects of this utilitarian view of architecture that supported or encouraged nineteenth-century eclecticism were challenged by Louis Sullivan. In his scientific studies, especially those dealing with forms of life and "life's urging," he saw an analogy in the laws underlying evolutionary growth and an architecture of true style. His aphorism "form follows function," the law upon which good architecture is founded, was made more clear as amended by Adler, his partner, to read: "Function and environment determine form," using the words "environment" and "form" in their broadest sense. This discovery released in Sullivan and in others a flood of truly creative energy. We no longer appreciate fully the courage, force of imagination and intellectual effort that went into the formulation of Sullivan's idea, or we are frightened away from it. The work required to reap the benefits of this analogy seems to be too exacting, too perfectionist and too puritanical. It demands of an architect a patient observation and analysis that alone can lead to an exact cutting of the architectural language. There is no room for the approximate; it insists on an utter honesty and integrity, as well as an exercise of the total consciousness. Architects of this caliber are no more common than are such men in other occupations. Their ways are slow and painful and seldom commissioned today. When much work needs to be done, few can wait for their careful processes.

In *Talks with Students,* Le Corbusier mentions this retreat. As "a result of the sad abdication of intellect and a retreat from an exercise of the consciousness, a ragtime army of the cowardly, the indigent and the poor in spirit . . . is now blanketing our cities and countryside with counterfeit architecture," and in another place, "academicism is a way of not thinking, fit only for men who fear the anguish of creation or see no purpose or value in it."

Two questionable historical concepts still prevalent today lie at the root of the troubles that beset architecture: first, a continuing failure to see purpose or value in the exacting "exercise of consciousness," to use Le Corbusier's term, which can give rise to new expression; and, secondly, the naïve belief that the expressive aspect in architecture, or art generally, can exist separately from and in advance of its realization. These states of mind, for lack of clear thinking, have little or no understanding of the place and value of the arts in life, a confusion born of Rationalism. Also, the idea that the arts and reason are in some way opposed—itself a Romantic heresy—prevents intelligent men from bothering to discriminate between architecture proper and propaganda or magic.

This magical view of architecture today is seen in the recent writing and work of Mr. Minoru Yamasaki, who believes that to achieve high purpose in architecture one's goals must include: "To enhance the enjoyment of life through beauty and delight . . . to be uplifting so we can reflect the nobility to which man aspires . . . to give order, and through order a background of serenity for the complex activity of modern life . . . to be in scale with man so that he is . . . secure and happy in his environment." He says that buildings should be "friendly" and "gentle." Mr. Yamasaki is much employed and has many commissions,

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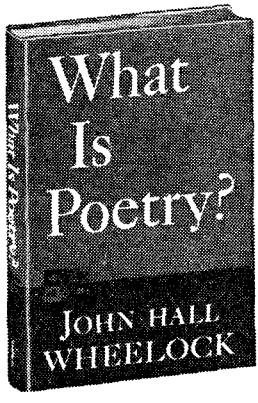

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Although these goals are framed in very general terms, their presence in his mind seems to block, rather than release, primary imaginative energy. They differ in character from those sought by Walpole and fellow Romanticists, but their effect upon architectural work is similar. The preconceived obligation to express "beauty" or "delight," "uplift" or "serenity," seems to interfere with the searching and unprejudiced analysis of a building's actual requirements and an exercise of the total consciousness upon those requirements. These goals, if achieved, are won by denying the building's functions and by suppressing the parts that show its actual purpose. For example, an appearance of "serenity" is obtained by imposing a geometric simplicity and symmetric axial balance over an interior of great complexity. "Beauty," if captured, is separate from, and so does not reflect, the building's use—as in the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University. Functions that refuse to fit into the preconceived shape can be disposed of in basements where they are made useful by mechanical means. The pressure of function seldom is allowed to determine form, nor is structural expression the result of spatial need. Mr. Yamasaki frequently isolates his buildings by podiums, classic stylobates, ponds, or high walls, as in his buildings at Wayne State University and the Art School for the Society of Arts and Crafts in Detroit. Their self-sufficiency and isolated completeness are reminiscent of primitive sites and classic temples. As a result, any expression of "gentle friendliness" is difficult to find. Other examples of his work —the College of Education at Wayne State and the Air Terminal in Saudi Arabia— incorporate either neo-Gothic, neo-Venetian, or Middle Eastern rhythms and other borrowed hints. Like much eighteenth- and nineteenth-century architecture, these designs are shaped in accordance with uniform aesthetic preferences and predetermined qualities of "character" quite separate from many functional demands.

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Edward Stone, who also is much sought after, admits to being "a fall guy for beauty" and seeks this quality with an innocent directness. His frequent use of an all-enveloping tile or metal screen must indicate that he believes that beauty reposes in it. This device, covering as it does buildings of contrasting use in different climates, makes them alike and is a definite limitation of the expressive range of his designs. It has become a trademark as familiar as Howard Johnson's orange roof.

These two men are consistent in their adherence to a cosmetic manner of working, while others, less well known, alternate between variations of this position and one that is tentatively exploratory. This at least reveals a restlessness and doubt which are not unhappy.

What architects do, in what ways architecture is like other forms of discovery, and where its ultimate value rests, remain a mystery to laymen. Men of intellect and institutions of learning willingly accept the romantic and merely stylish while properly judging significant contributions and discoveries in other disciplines.

This trend is not unchallenged in the United States, but the list of challengers is not long. Louis Kahn is one whose work reflects a consistent opposition. He has come to creative maturity later than most and his work is limited by this as well as by his meticulous working methods. This does not diminish his importance. He is a teacher and an articulate theorist. His talk and his writing are free of named "goals" or preconceptions that freeze the life of the primary imagination. With intense concentration upon the unique characteristics of each commission, his mind is free to discover and to follow their demands where they will. He constantly scrutinizes and questions his own conclusions and ideas. By not working toward procrustean ends, he usually achieves a unique, inventive and rigorous integration of spaces, forms, functions and techniques—a synthesis and fusion of "what" and "how" common to all works of art.

Others also have his unmistakable integrity but have not obtained many commissions of equal importance. They continue to work in the mainstream—however small—of the true modern movement as charted at the turn of this century.

In an imperfectly comprehended world it is vital that sensitive and intelligent men examine each phenomenon in turn to try to discover what it is, and how it relates to others. Society allows the pure scientist unlimited freedom to do this. However, in the humane studies most believe with Sir Richard Livingston that "literature reflects all the thoughts and feelings of man," and that the world of culture is limited to literary studies. This is an error, for it denies that painting, sculpture and architecture are languages in their own right and assumes that meaning in any one of them can be expressed in literary form. The Romantic Movement in the visual arts had its origins in this misconception, and it still bedevils architecture and is hostile to the primary architectural imagination.

The process of learning to fit into the world is an adventure probably without end. Our entire realm of conscious experience is a complex whole, laboriously put together by artists and men of science to help us to maintain harmonious relationships in our surroundings. The need to do this is one of our deepest urges. To reject, ignore or misunderstand any part of the whole will impoverish it. Much that we build is merely decorated shelter, or architecture misunderstood, and an impoverishment of the primary imagination is the most characteristic aspect of the current scene. It will follow us until the time when more among us see purpose in the anguish, time and cost of true architectural creativity that will not simply provide pleasant shelter for our institutions but can also deepen our understanding of them and, ultimately, of ourselves.

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The Reader Replies . . . . . .

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—EDITOR

Were it not for occasional quotations from David Riesman's *Abundance for What?,* Livio Stecchini's review [AS: Summer, 1964] would suggest that some malicious prankster had slipped Riesman's dust jacket on an N.A.M. pamphlet, and that the reviewer, hurrying to meet his deadline, had not noticed what he was reviewing. But these few quotations indicate that Mr. Stecchini at least leafed through the right book before writing his review, and that the misrepresentations in the review must be dealt with as such.

In Mr. Stecchini's words, "it is difficult to choose which factual evidence to quote for its refutation." Let me consider only four of the reviewer's mistakes. First, he maintains that Riesman starts "from traditional idealizers of American capitalism" to conclude that "utopia has been reached here and now." This view is stated to be "largely a product of the cold war," and is equated with "a line of anti-Soviet propaganda." All of these assertions and implications are simply false. Which "traditional idealizers of American capitalism" does Mr. Stecchini have in mind? Erich Fromm, to whom *Abundance for What?* is dedicated? Or perhaps that well-known apologist Thorstein Veblen? Or perhaps Alexis de Tocqueville, another proponent of American capitalism? For these are the men from whom Riesman starts. Riesman's political and social views are well known, and are witnessed by his role as one of the founders of the Council for Correspondence, an organization dedicated to exploring alternatives to the cold war and broadly socialist in domestic outlook. Moreover, few Americans can be less fairly allied with "anti-Soviet propaganda" than Riesman: in the book reviewed, for example, he repeatedly deplores the coloring of domestic and international issues by a "cold war filter." And the idea that Riesman believes that "utopia has been reached here and now" is belied not only by the title of the book, but by virtually every essay in it. Riesman's unifying theme is that growing abundance has brought a new set of major problems, among them problems of work, leisure, the absence of challenge and the need for frontiers beyond abundance. Like many social critics, he is pessimistic about the domestic, political and international future of America, and remarks at one point, "I would be glad to have my prophecies proved false." These are hardly the words of a man who believes he lives in a utopia.

Secondly, Mr. Stecchini says that Riesman's "horizon is that of market researchers and advertising men," and in two incoherent paragraphs demolishes a straw man consisting of "hucksters," Arnold Toynbee, Thorstein Veblen and David Riesman. This argument is hard to follow, but as I understand it, Riesman's horizons are those of a huckster partly because he considers the American economy an "organized system of waste" and partly because he criticizes the baroque bodies of Detroit cars without noting the functional chassis beneath. But since when have hucksters held that ours is an "organized system of waste"? Are the

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chassis of Detroit cars really so functional? And is it true that "within wide limits, [the body] does not need to be functional," as the reviewer asserts? Engineers concerned with getting passengers to their destination alive—surely a prime function of a car—have long and persuasively disputed both these last conclusions. Here, it is Mr. Stecchini who sounds like a huckstering car salesman.

The deficiencies of the reviewer's discussion of bodies and chassis extend to a third criticism of Riesman, namely that he concentrates on "the folklore of our society, not its essence." Mr. Stecchini, however, feels he is able to penetrate through the baroque body and show us the functional chassis: our society "is characterized by increasing organization and rationality . . . dominated by the scientific spirit"—insights that are "totally neglected" by Riesman. Once again, Mr. Stecchini errs, mistaking disagreement for neglect. For Riesman argues in essay after essay that our society is in major respects *dis*organized, *ir*rational and *un*scientific. A reviewer of course has every right to advance his own speculations, but to accuse an author of "neglecting" a view he is at pains to refute is once again to misrepresent.

Finally, Mr. Stecchini dispatches Riesman's method with a few irrelevant thrusts. Linguists, he says, have "found" that most language is "pointless noise"; *ergo,* Riesman, to whom the reviewer concedes a sharp ear for the "noises of our social life," is attending only to the pointless "minutiae of our daily life," to a meaningless "welter of local peculiarities." Even if Mr. Stecchini can find a few linguists to support his extreme view of language, the linguist and the sociologist have very different definitions of meaningful communication. Freud equally "found" that Mr. Stecchini is wrong—that most apparently "pointless" social noises are in fact meaningful communications which express underlying fantasies and needs. Similarly, many sociologists like Tocqueville, Veblen and Riesman have believed that listening attentively to neglected "social noises" is one way of understanding the societies in which such noises are made. A baroque body may indeed point to a baroque chassis; and studying the "folklore" of a society may be the best method of accomplishing even Mr. Stecchini's grand goal, "the enucleation of essences and the isolation of accidents." At the very least, this is a method that deserves intelligent discussion, not argument by false analogy and insult.

David Riesman, whatever the merits and failings of his views, is one of the few commentators on American society whose work is worth careful study and detailed methodological, historical and analytical criticism. Many of the critical essays in *Culture and Social Character. The Work of David Riesman Reviewed* (edited by S. M. Lipset and L. Lowenthal; Glencoe: Free Press, 1961) add to our understanding not only of Riesman's work but of American society. With this example before him, it is the more the pity that Mr. Stecchini chose instead the path of denunciation and misrepresentation.

KENNETH KENISTON
Yale University

* * *

While Douglas Bush's "Hands Across the Sea" [AS: Summer, 1964] contains amusingly-documented charges against the Oxbridge brand of sociolistic scorn for American scholarship, he exempts "most academic Britons" from his spirited indictment—and quite rightly, if the British poet and critic, Alfred Alvarez (author of *The School of Donne)* is any example.

When Al was a visiting lecturer at Princeton several years ago, giving the university's Gauss Seminar, a group of us used to lunch together from time to time, and I remember one occasion on which the subject of American versus European education was discussed briefly but masochistically. To a man, the Americans at the table were extolling the rigorous quality of the European system and bemoaning America's smorgasbord approach to education, when Al said, "Have I ever told you about the All-England rugby player who was at Oxford while I was there? No? Then let me—

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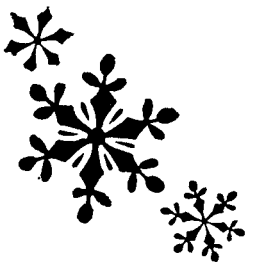

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The rugby star (Al didn't give his name) was less than brilliant off the playing fields and, in fact, for three years had been given Pass grades owing to an unspoken conspiracy on the part of the faculty, so that he could go on playing for Oxford. In his senior year, however—and on the eve of the most important game—he was flunked, Sent Down, expelled for having (finally) been failed in one of his subjects: a gut course called (I think Al said) Divinity.

In any case, it was the Divinity Professor who had flunked him, and that evening in Commons it was the Divinity Professor who was gently but firmly cornered by his livid colleagues. For three years they had, by tacit but nonetheless mutual agreement, allowed the doltish athlete to skin by. Why—at this late date, and on the eve of the big match—why (their raised eyebrows and resentful glares and sharply sucked pipes seemed to ask), *why* had the Divinity Professor taken it upon himself to flunk the fellow and humiliate them all?

"Gentlemen," stammered the Divinity Professor, "I—I know exactly what you're thinking, believe me I do, and I don't blame you, don't blame you a bit, but you must believe me when I tell you that I wrestled with my conscience, I searched my soul, but I could not bring myself, it was simply not within me, to give a passing grade to any student who spells 'Jesus' with a small *g*!"

GEORGE R. CLAY
Princeton University

* * *

C. P. Snow seems to have become a boogeyman for defenders of the humanities, who continually refer to him without giving any evidence of having read what he has actually said. In the Summer, 1964, issue, in addition to a passing reference in Douglas Bush's article, Snow is mentioned and discussed by four authors (Krutch, Eiseley, Handlin, Rabinowitch). All of them treat Snow as if he were an opponent of the humanities, a proponent of an absolute division of our culture into two parts, and a supporter of the superiority of scientists over humanists. That he is none of these things, should be obvious from even the most superficial reading of his lecture *The Two Cultures*. This has recently been published in the United States, together with an extensive postscript, in a volume entitled *the Two Cultures and A Second Look*. This volume should be required reading for everyone who wishes to discuss Snow, Leavis and the role of both of them in the current discussion over the relation of the humanities and the scientific approach.

ROBERT A. HALL, JR.
Cornell University

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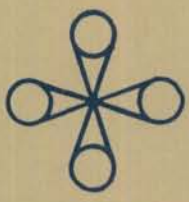

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